



SAMOTHRACIAN CONNECTIONS

Essays in honor of James R. McCredie



*Edited by
Olga Palagia
and Bonna D. Wescoat*

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James R. McCredie
(Photo Patrick Cardon)

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(Photos Bonna D. Wescoat)

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Editor's Preface

Our honoree, James (Jim) R. McCredie, was born on New Year's Eve in Chicago, and grew up in Elgin, Illinois. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and graduated *summa cum laude* from Harvard University. He received his PhD from Harvard as well. As a graduate student he participated in field seasons at Gordion and Sardis in Turkey, and Porto Rafti, Attica, in Greece. An appropriate prelude to what became his life's work on Samothrace was his participation in the excavation of the 3rd-century B.C. Ptolemaic military camp at Koroni in Attica and the subsequent publication of his dissertation, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica* (*Hesperia* Supplement XI, 1966). This monograph is a pioneering contribution to the history and archaeology of Athens and Attica in the 3rd century B.C. It revised the history of the Chremonidean War and occasioned the down-dating of Attic black glaze pottery by about twenty years.

In 1962 McCredie transferred his commitment to the northern Aegean, where he joined the Samothracian team first as field director for Phyllis Williams Lehmann. In 1966 he became director. Over the course of nearly half a century of research he has contributed to the discovery and study of the most significant aspects of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace.

McCredie taught classical archaeology at the Institute of Fine Arts in New York from 1963 until his appointment as director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1969, a post he held until 1977. In 1978 he returned to the Institute of Fine Arts as Professor, and became its director from 1983 to 2002. He trained several generations of graduate students of art, archaeology and conservation, both in the classroom and on Samothrace. Under his directorship the Institute experienced a veritable golden age of Greek archaeology, when a brilliant cast of Institute professors, curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and visiting European scholars offered seminars on a wide range of subjects. The American School of Classical Studies, the Institute of Fine Arts and the Samothrace excavations have profited from his sharp mind, his generosity, his organizational skills and the inspiration he provided to younger colleagues and students. The number of students and colleagues who participated in research and excavations during McCredie's tenure as director at Samothrace is striking testimony to his reach across the field of classical archaeology. Their names appear at the end of this volume. McCredie's long involvement with the Institute of Fine Arts, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and with the Samothrace excavations are discussed in separate essays of this volume.

In addition to being an honorary citizen of Samothrace, honorary member of the Archaeological Society of Athens, and the recipient of a gold medal of the Pan-Samothracian Hearth of Athens, McCredie holds an honorary degree from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

The volume in hand is a collection of essays on the archaeology and epigraphy of Samothrace, Macedonia and Alexandria by colleagues and pupils paying tribute to McCredie's lifetime of devotion to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the influences that shaped it. The authors have all worked with McCredie in some capacity and are indebted to him for his guidance and wisdom. The editors offer him this volume in token of appreciation and affection, hoping that it will serve to illuminate larger issues as well as some less well-known aspects of the archaeology of Samothrace that became more accessible thanks to his efforts and to those of his collaborators for over half a century.

The editors wish to thank Irene Romano for her support, Brenda Phifer Schrobe and Mary-Elizabeth Mitchell for their help, and Rachel Foulk and Susan Blevins for their assistance in assembling the manuscript. The publication of this volume was made possible thanks to the sponsorship of Charles K. Williams, Alan Boegehold and anonymous donors. We thank David Brown for agreeing to publish it in his series.

The papers follow the guidelines and abbreviations of *Hesperia*.

Olga Palagia and Bonna D. Wescoat

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1. James R. McCredie and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Irene Bald Romano

James R. McCredie has had a remarkable career of devotion to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) as a member and fellow (1958–59, 1961–62, 1965–66); Director (1969–77); Managing Committee Representative (1962–present), Executive Committee Member (1977–82), Chair of the Gennadius Library Committee (1997–2000); Managing Committee Chair (1980–90); Trustee (*ex officio* 1980–90; elected 1990–present), and President of the Board of Trustees (2001–2010). There is no one in the history of the School who has held all of these key positions, including Edward Capps who served the School in many capacities in the first half of the 20th century, but never as President or Chairman of the Board. Jim McCredie's influence on the American School from the late 1960s to the present has been extraordinary.

Jim McCredie first came to the ASCSA as a Regular Member in 1958–59. In the spring of 1959, to fulfill the School's Regular Member requirements, Jim and fellow student Arthur Steinberg carried out a survey on the Koroni peninsula in Attica. Returning in the summer of 1960 to excavate with Eugene Vanderpool, they identified the fortified camp of Koroni as a Ptolemaic fort used during the Chremonidean War of 268–262 B.C. Jim was again at the School as a member in 1961–62, holding the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship from Harvard University. He worked on his doctoral dissertation, "The Fortified Military Camps of Attica," and spent a further year at the School (1965–66) preparing this work for publication as *Hesperia* Supplement XI (1966). In 1962 he became field director for renewed excavations by New York University's Institute of Fine Arts on Samothrace, an affiliated project of the ASCSA with which he has been closely associated since that time.

In 1969 the young, "thirty-something" Jim McCredie was tapped to succeed Henry Robinson as the Director of the School. Despite the unsettling times under the Junta in Greece and some general financial worries, the years of the McCredie directorship represented something of a "golden age," with the School at the epicenter of archaeology and classical studies in Greece. The legendary Eugene Vanderpool ("EV") was in his last years as the Professor of Archaeology (he retired June 1971), Charles Williams was Corinth Director, T. Leslie Shear, Jr. Director at the Agora (with John Camp as Assistant Director), and the charismatic Francis Walton (who retired in 1976) Director of the Gennadius Library.

Jim McCredie set a standard for the directorship during his eight years that has been difficult for subsequent directors to match. Quite simply, he did it all – at a time when the staff of the School was very small, requiring the Director to be pressed into service in every arena. He taught seminars on Greek architecture and led School trips, including memorable ones to northern Greece and Samothrace. He began the practice of inviting guest lecturers to make special presentations throughout these expeditions. Jim McCredie also took seriously his role as advisor and mentor to School students, and set high standards and had high expectations for the conduct of students in their everyday encounters in Greece as well as in the excellence of their reports, papers, and scholarship in general.

The American School in those days was at the center of social life in Athens, and Jim and Mimsy McCredie presided over elegant and carefully orchestrated weekly dinner parties in the Director's residence that placed student and senior members of the School at the side of museum directors, members of the Archaeological Service, or directors of foreign archaeological schools, fostering important relationships for the School and individual scholars for future research in Greece.

With Jim McCredie as Director there seemed to be nothing – the staff, its activities, physical plant, and

budget – of which he did not have complete command. His policy of even-handedness in matters relating to Greek politics and his consummate diplomatic skills steered the School carefully through some choppy waters during the days of the Junta. One of the many accomplishments of Jim McCredie's directorship was the construction, with Frank Walton, of the east and west wings of the Gennadius Library, including the installation of the Stathatou Macedonian Room (dedicated in May 1972) and the Gennadeion's subsequent reopening in February 1973.

As Managing Committee Chair Jim McCredie's greatest concerns were budgetary: salaries, rising costs and inflation in Greece as well as maintenance of the buildings and space needs – themes that recur throughout the history of the School. It was during the period of Jim McCredie's stewardship as Managing Committee Chair that the Centennial of the School was celebrated and the Blegen Library new wing was built providing for increased stacks, as well as space for the School Archives, a new archaeological laboratory, computer laboratory, and seminar room.

In his capacity as a Trustee and President of the Board of Trustees, Jim McCredie has been the keeper of School traditions, as well as its champion as it moves into different times. Encomiums, especially lengthy ones, are not Jim's style, yet there is no denying his extraordinary and inspirational generosity of spirit, of material resources and time, his long volunteer service to the American School, and his dutiful loyalty to his students, colleagues, friends, fellow Trustees, and to the institution he clearly loves.

2. James R. McCredie and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Mariët Westermann and Patricia Rubin

James McCredie is one of those fortunate people whose talents, interests and career naturally aligned. Since 1961, the Institute of Fine Arts has rejoiced in sharing that fortune through Jim's multiple roles at the Institute as professor, archaeologist, director, mentor and friend. To those who have known him through the years, his self-effacing personality and wry sense of humor are memorable, as are his quiet generosity, gentle dignity and above all, his complete devotion to the field of classical archaeology. During his tenure and as part of his legacy, he has been dedicated to building, expanding and strengthening classical archaeology for future generations.

Three key institutions have been integral to Jim's professional life. First, he is a Harvard man. His undergraduate and graduate work were completed there and culminated with his dissertation on "Fortified Military Camps in Attica." As an archaeologist, he has also been closely involved with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, where he studied early in his career and later became its Director. His academic career belongs to the Institute of Fine Arts, where he was Director from 1983–2002. He came to the Institute in 1961 as an Instructor, he rose to Professor in 1978, was named Sherman Fairchild Professor in 1988 and became emeritus in 2002. This span of nearly fifty years also includes his on-going position as Director of the Samothrace excavations, a role he assumed in 1966.

Such a brief outline of a remarkable man's career can only give a glimpse of his accomplishments. Indeed, it would not be possible to know or to recount the full impact Jim has had, directly and indirectly, on those he has touched throughout his long and committed involvement with academia and classical archaeology. We would like to make special note, however, of a few highlights that point to the very real differences he has made during his years at the Institute.

Jim brought many exemplary qualities to his role as Director, not least his accessibility and even-handedness in working across the organization to ensure that the needs of professors, students and administrators were approached fairly and met equably. Always working to maintain the high standard of education for which the Institute is renowned, his tenure witnessed a number of milestones. For example, the Conservation Center relocated from the Duke House into its own home, the newly renovated Stephen Chan House at 14 East 78th Street. Major academic appointments were made: Linda Nochlin, Jean-Louis Cohen and Robert Lubar in Modern art, Jonathan J.G. Alexander in Medieval European art, Jonathan Hay in Chinese art, Roland R. R. Smith and Katherine Welch in Roman art and David O'Connor in Ancient Egyptian art. In addition, there was a significant expansion in the archaeological excavations sponsored by the Institute – Jim brought Aphrodisias to the Institute from the NYU Classics Department and when David O'Connor joined the faculty, the Institute joined in the sponsorship of the Penn-Yale-IFA Expedition to Abydos, one of the longest-running and most important foreign-sponsored excavations in Egypt. These prestigious projects continue to make outstanding contributions to their respective fields.

As a teacher, one of Jim's greatest gifts to his students, literally hundreds of them, has been the opportunity he has given them to work under his direction during one or more summer seasons at his beloved site, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, on the remote Greek island of Samothrace. Many of them have gone on to influential teaching, research, and scholarly appointments in a wide range of fields, for Jim trained students whose interests ranged from archaeology and ancient art to modern art and architecture. So, for example, Andria Derstine, a scholar of early modern art who spent four summers working at Samothrace, has told us of Jim's exceptional generosity, how he patiently taught them the art of archaeology, made sure they ate well and provided his car, nicknamed Sylvester, for local outings. A true teacher, he created the best possible

environment, one that allowed for open engagement, curiosity and a sense of well being, in order to bring out the best in his students and allow them to flourish. He brought these same qualities to the classroom in New York, but for many of his students the experience of working with him on Samothrace remains a special memory.

When Jim retired from the Institute the difficult question of finding a suitable means to mark the occasion was answered in the most fitting way possible – friends and colleagues came together to establish The James R. McCredie Summer Grant Program, which supports at least two Institute students annually to work at one of the Institute's archaeological projects. Today, this wonderful program both honors Jim's commitment to training the next generation of archaeologists and continues his legacy as a teacher and true advocate for classical archaeology.

As Jim's successors and on behalf of the Institute of Fine Arts, we are very honored to be part of Jim's life, career and legacy and to join in celebrating him with this Festschrift.

3. James R. McCredie and Samothracian Architecture

Bonna D. Wescoat

Nothing demonstrates James (Jim) R. McCredie's contribution to our understanding of Samothracian architecture more vividly than a comparison of the plan of the Sanctuary in 1962, the year he became field director of excavations, with the current plan of the Sanctuary published in this volume (Figs 3.1–3.3). Through 46 years of excavation and research, Jim McCredie has more than doubled the number of known structures within the Sanctuary. Prior to his investigations, the Eastern Hill, which would yield the complex of monuments around the Theatral Circle, was known only as a sacred glen (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 24–25); the monuments on the terrace to the north of the Stoa were intimated chiefly through spolia in the walls of the Byzantine fort (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 1–4, 29); and, only the occasional remnant of a terrace wall signaled what was to emerge as the complex sets of rooms immediately east and north of the Stoa (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 7–10). And even though earlier excavators had concentrated considerable effort on the monuments in the heart of the Sanctuary, Jim McCredie's reexamination of this area has led to architectural discoveries that continue to inform our understanding of the function of the cult and the history of the Sanctuary.

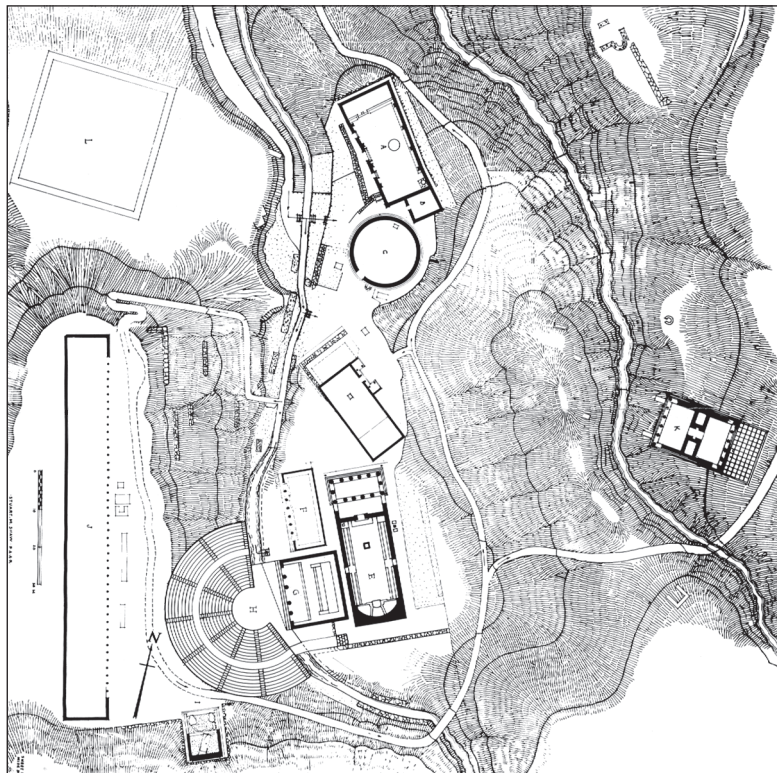


Figure 3.1. Restored plan of the Sanctuary reflecting research as of 1960. After *Samothrace. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, 2nd edition, 1960. A. Anaktoron. B. Sacristy. C. Rotunda of Arsinoe. D. Temenos. E. Hieron. F. Hall of Votive Gifts. G. Altar Court. H. Theater. I. Nike Fountain. J. Stoa. K. Propylon of Ptolemy II. L. Ruinenviereck (Byzantine fort).

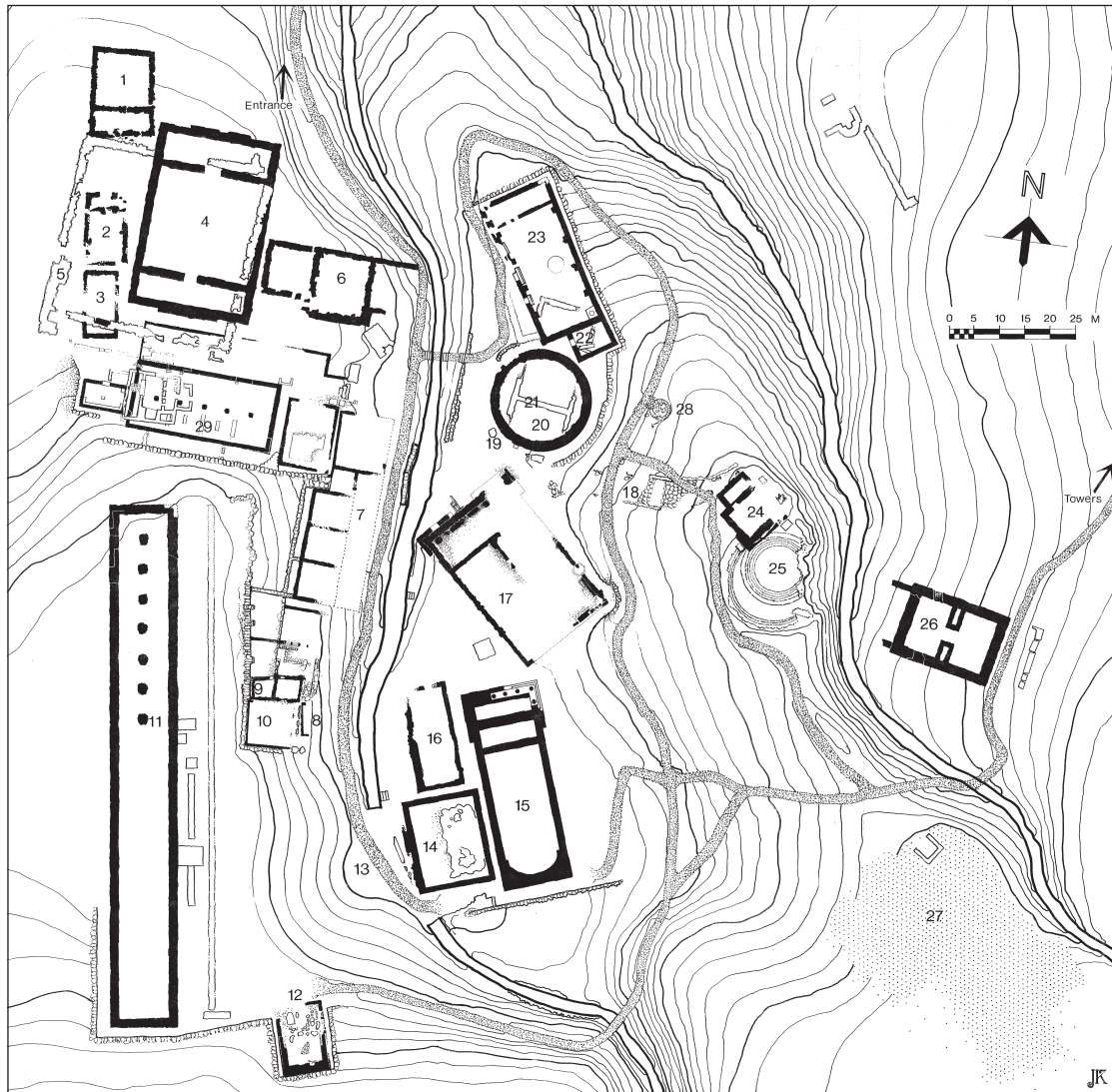


Figure 3.2. Actual state sketch plan of the Sanctuary as of 2000. Buildings numbered in figures 3.2 and 3.3: 1–3. Unidentified late Hellenistic buildings; 4. Unfinished early Hellenistic building A; 5. Byzantine fort; 6. Milesian Dedication; 7. Dining rooms; 8, 10. Rooms adjacent to the Theatre; 9. Archaistic niche; 11. Stoa; 12. Nike Monument; 13. Theater; 14. Altar Court; 15. Hieron; 16. Hall of Votive Gifts; 17. Hall of Choral Dancers; 18. Sacred Way; 19. Sacred Rock; 20. Rotunda of Arsinoe II; 21. Orthostate Structure; 22. Sacristy; 23. Anaktoron; 24. Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV; 25. Theatral circle; 26. Propylon of Ptolemy II; 27. Southern Necropolis; 28. Doric Rotunda; 29. Neorion. Drawing John Kurtich.

Throughout his tenure as director, Jim McCredie has taken especial interest in the architecture of the site, working closely with the architects on all aspects of the reconstruction of the monuments and every detail of the drawings, including the block studies, the actual state plans, and the richly articulated reconstructions. Rarely conventional, Samothracian buildings have required painstaking scrutiny and bold interpretation in nearly every aspect of their design in plan, elevation, and ancient restoration. Gifted at both modes of thinking, Jim McCredie has shown a confidence of interpretation that has quite literally shaped our knowledge of Samothracian architecture and consequently expanded our understanding of Hellenistic architecture. The drawings gathered here represent a small sample of one of his richest legacies, for they highlight the extraordinary inventiveness, diversity, conceptual flexibility, and fine ornamentation of Samothracian architecture. Many of the drawings are in the hand of the late John Kurtich, the excavation's chief architect who worked in close collaboration with Jim McCredie for over 30 years.

Each decade of Jim McCredie's leadership not only brought important new material to light but also transformed earlier ideas on the architecture of the Sanctuary. The campaigns of the 1960s included large-



Figure 3.3. Restored sketch plan of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods in the first century A.D. as of 2002. Drawing John Kurtich.

scale excavations concentrated especially on the plateaus that frame the central Sanctuary to the east and west.¹ Minimally explored by the early excavators, these regions had not been the focus of Karl Lehmann's research efforts during his tenure as director from 1938–1960.² To the west, McCredie concentrated the excavations on recovering the Stoa and associated monuments that had been partially explored by Austrian, French, and Czech predecessors, but which had become obscured over the intervening years. To the east, he conducted excavations in the region of the well-known Propylon of Ptolemy II to determine the route to the heart of the Sanctuary.

While the Austrians had recognized the sizable extent of the Stoa and published some of its architectural elements, Jim McCredie demonstrated its prostyle design, restored the engaged Ionic columns that complete the interior order, and uncovered the cache of polychrome plaster in imitation of drafted margin masonry that once formed the interior decoration (Fig. 3.4).³ He sorted out the arrangement of the foundations for monuments in front of the Stoa that had been inadvertently confused by the Austrians in their publication. To

¹ McCredie 1965; McCredie 1968; McCredie 1976; McCredie 1979.

² For the history of excavation in the Sanctuary, see Lehmann 1998, pp. 46–47; Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, pp. 29–30; Bouzek et al. 1985, pp. 13, 43–45, 124; as well as individual excavation volumes for particular buildings and regions.

³ Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 49–52, pls L–LIX; McCredie 1965, pp. 101–116; McCredie 1968, pp. 201–204; McCredie 1979, pp. 8–12; Lehmann 1998, pp. 104–107.

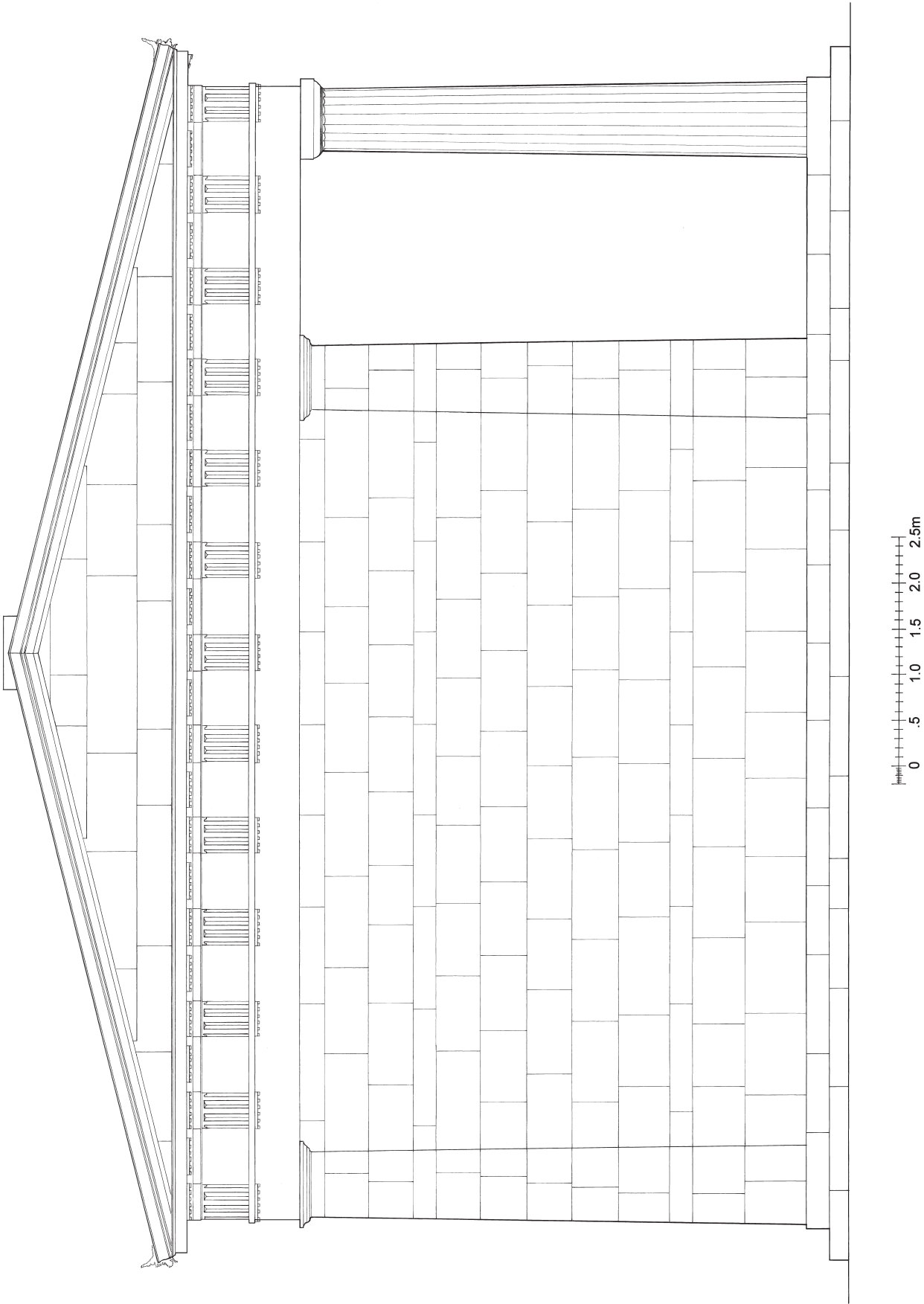


Figure 3.4. Restored southern end of the Stoa. Drawing Nicholas Ohly and Ryan Leidner.

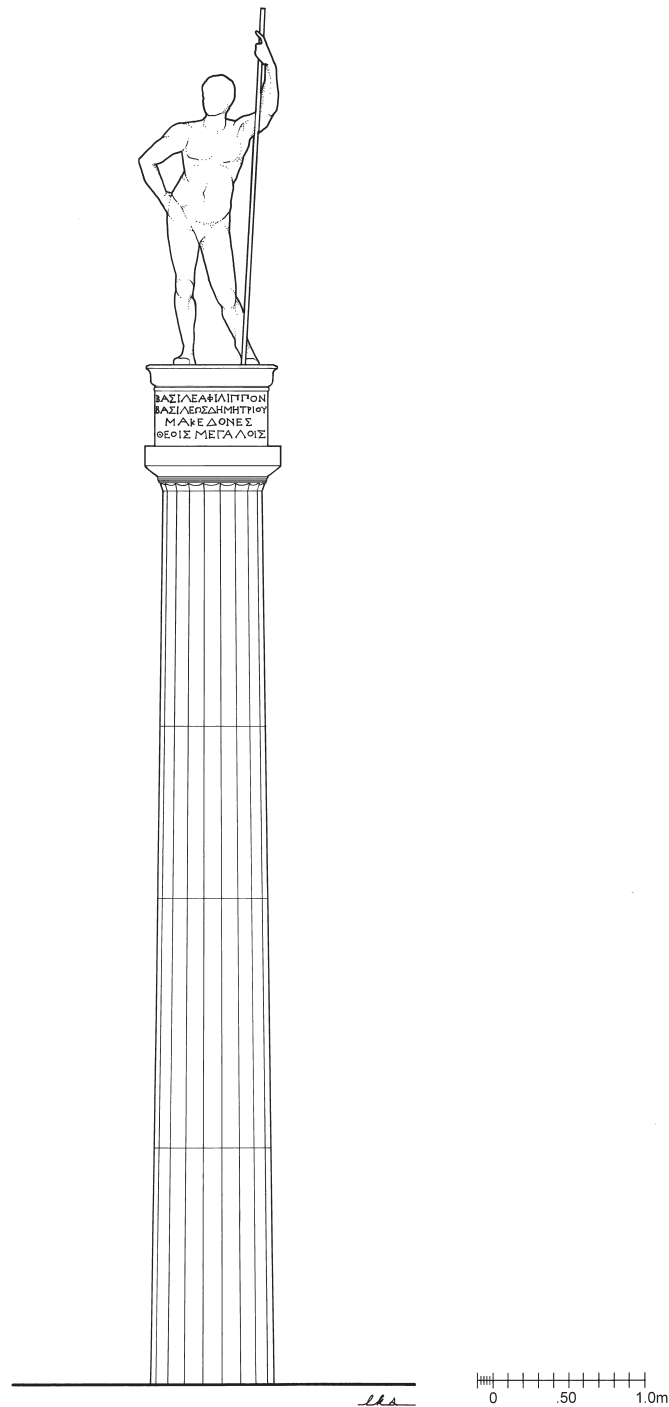


Figure 3.5. Reconstruction of the Column of Philip V. Drawing Leah Solk.

them he added the large, nearly square Monument Base IV adjacent to Orthostate Monument A, as well as the additional important and much better preserved Orthostate Monument VI, set between the south end of the Stoa and the Nike Monument. Prior to the excavations east of the Stoa, one could only speculate on the possible donors of the elaborate monuments that once stood on these foundations. However, here (partly on the Stoa terrace and partly tumbled down the slope to the east) McCredie recovered a monumental marble votive Doric column (Fig. 3.5) whose capital was crowned with a statue base bearing the cuttings for the insertion of a monumental bronze statue. The inscription on the base reads

Βασιλέα Φίλιππον
 Βασιλέως Δημητρίου
 Μακεδόνες
 Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις⁴

The discovery of this dedication was fundamental in several respects. It provided important physical evidence corroborating the significance of the Sanctuary to the later Antigonids, thus giving additional weight to Perseus' decision to seek refuge there after the Battle of Pydna (Livy 45.5.1–6.11). The splendid position of this votive column also cannot be overestimated. Rising high above the Stoa on the steep western plateau, Philip V's statue would have been taller than the Nike Monument and roughly on elevation with the Propylon of Ptolemy II. Silhouetted against the sky and mountain, it would have been visible from multiple vantage points within the Sanctuary, along the Sacred Way from the ancient city, and from some distance out to sea. It more than confirms the importance of the terrace in front of the Stoa as a key area for the display of statues dedicated for or by royalty. In this light, the long orthostate monuments (Monuments A and B known to the Austrians, and Monument VI uncovered by McCredie) raise the possibility that statue groups of royal families were as much a part of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods as they were of the other major Hellenistic sanctuaries, especially Delos.⁵

Extending the investigation of the Western Hill northward in the mid 1960s, Jim McCredie sharpened the architectural profile of the monuments partially evident to the earliest explorers of the Sanctuary. Although initially explored by the French team of G. Deville and E. Coquart in 1866 and excavated by the French-Czech teams led by A. Chapouthier and A. Salač during the 1920s, the region remained largely unpublished (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 1–6).⁶ McCredie gave care and attention to the badly neglected and partly disassembled Byzantine fort that once dominated the region. He recovered and organized the many architectural elements of Buildings A and M (now called the Milesian Dedication) that had been extracted by the earlier teams, and he presented the first clear account of the unfinished Building A, including the evidence for its interior supports. The continuation of excavation to the west in 1967 and subsequent years brought to light three small Late Hellenistic buildings aligned on the western perimeter of the Sanctuary (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 1–3; Fig. 3.6).⁷ Their orientation, with Buildings 1 and 2 facing one another across a small sloping open space, and Building 3 turned toward the south, intimate paths and roads that have now vanished from the record. The northernmost and largest of the three, Building 1, bears the hexastyle prostyle facade with returning steps much favored in the Sanctuary (note also the Hieron and the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV). The distyle in antis design of Building 2 typifies this type of small-scale structure, but the interior marble screen and built base for a marble statuary group give the building distinction. The southernmost Building 3 brings a new dimension to Samothracian architecture in its substitution of piers for columns across the porch (here pp. 102–105, Figs 7.38–7.39). In plan, scale, and clustering, these structures resemble the buildings called treasuries or *oikoi* (houses/chambers) in Panhellenic sanctuaries. Such structures functioned variously as votives, votive repositories, meeting places, or dining rooms, according to the place and cult. On Samothrace, the built marble statue base associated with Building 2 suggests that at least one function of that building was votive display, and the same may have been true of Building 3, which has a marble statue base still in situ in the pronaos. The considerably larger Building 1, however, may have functioned differently.

Perhaps the most extraordinary discovery of the 1960s came during investigations to determine the design of the ramp connecting the Propylon of Ptolemy II to the Eastern Hill. Although the Austrian excavators recorded footings projecting from the scarp of the ravine opposite the Propylon (Fig. 3.2), neither they nor the Lehmanns considered the region as more than a passage to the central Sanctuary, adorned with the occasional votive. The complex that ultimately emerged – in much the same state in which it had been abandoned

⁴ McCredie 1976, p. 96, fig. 4; McCredie 1979, p. 16, pl. 8a; Lehmann 1998, pp. 106, 163, fig. 80.

⁵ The “Progonoi” Monument of Antigonos Gonatas comes most immediately to mind, although its 21 m. length is considerably greater than Monuments A, B, or VI; see Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, pp. 191–192, fig. 76, no. 129 with additional bibliography. For the family group in late classical sculpture, Borbein 1973, pp. 88–90; in the Hellenistic period, Hintzen-Bohlen 1990.

⁶ Deville and Coquart 1867. In 1962, F. Salviat published a brief description of the work conducted on the Milesian Dedication and Building A (1962, pp. 281–293). In 1985, J. Bouzek published the notes and drawings of the Czech team's research in the Sanctuary, which largely concentrated on the areas of the Western Hill and the Theater (Bouzek et al. 1985). For earlier publications, see McCredie 1968, nn. 18–20.

⁷ McCredie 1968, pp. 210–211; McCredie 1979, pp. 24–26; Lehmann 1998, p. 113.

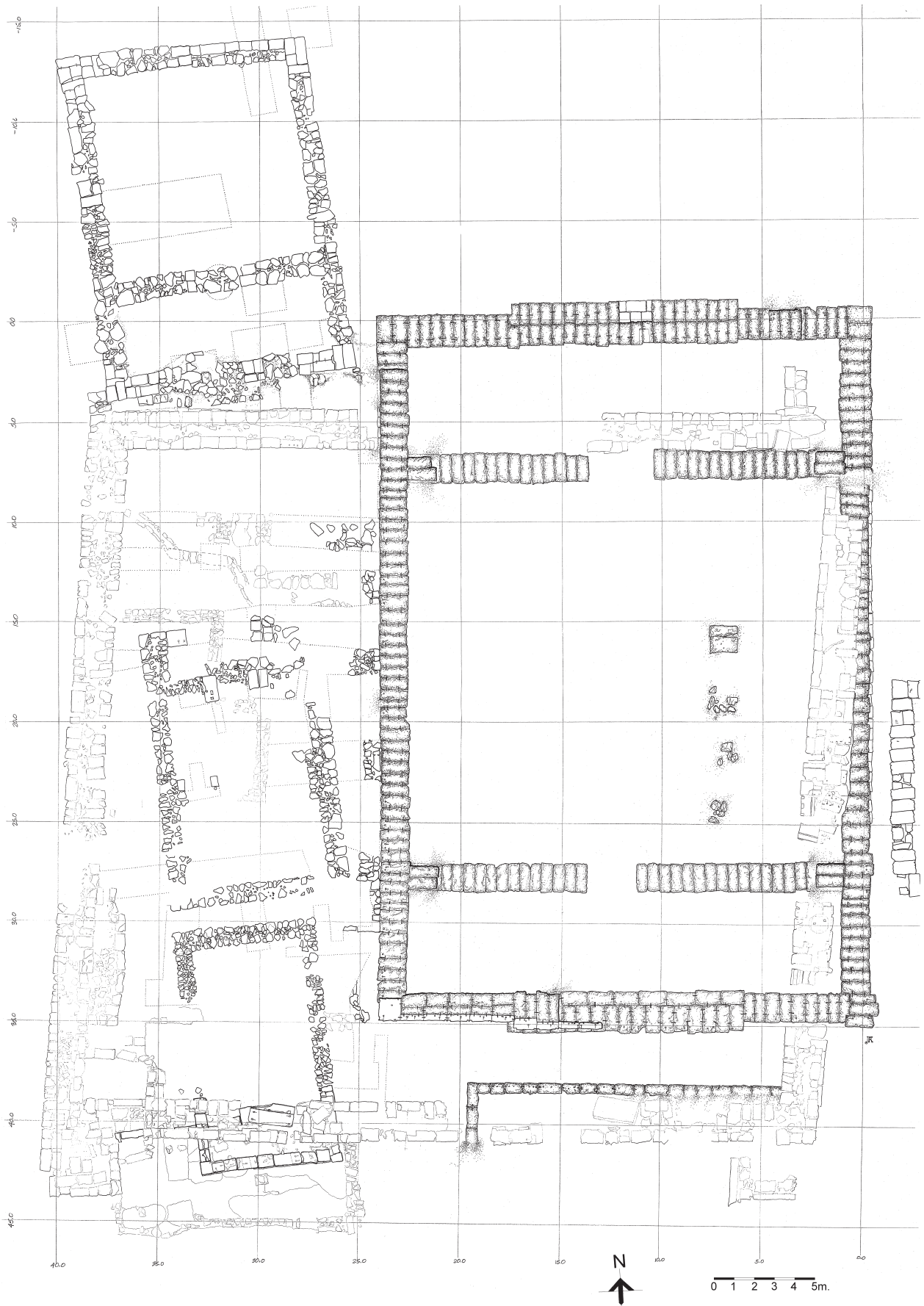


Figure 3.6. Actual state plan of the Western Hill, showing Building A (center) and the three late Hellenistic structures along the western boundary of the Sanctuary. The remains of the Byzantine fort are represented by the lighter lines. Drawing John Kurtich.

following a devastating earthquake – included a circular court surrounded by tiers of steps, a splendid Doric hexastyle prostyle pavilion dedicated to the Great Gods by the successors of Alexander the Great, an Ionic porch attached to the back of this dedication, and evidence for dozens of bronze statues arrayed on platforms set around the circumference of the steps and on a second tiered structure that also served as a retaining wall and outer grandstand (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos 24–25; Figs 3.7–3.10). Jim McCredie first identified Philip III and Alexander IV as the donors of the Doric pavilion. He appreciated not only the difference in the marbles used for the front and sides of their building, but also the distinctions in their workmanship (tooling, lifting, shifting, and clamping), which provided welcome evidence that masons followed their material from quarry through construction. In a building from the first half of the 4th century B.C. that lies beneath the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, McCredie brought to light the earliest Samothracian evidence for interior masonry-style painted plaster wall decoration.⁸

The monuments of the Eastern Hill are, of course, intimately connected with the Propylon of Ptolemy II on the opposite side of the eastern ravine, and Jim McCredie was instrumental in reshaping our understanding of the design of that building, too. Alfred Frazer credits him with being the first to realize that the anta capital with griffins bringing down a stag seen in the mid-19th century by O. Blau and K. Schlottmann in Chora belonged with the many fragments of Corinthian capital found to the west of the building, to complete the western Corinthian facade of the Propylon (here p. 78, Fig. 7.1).⁹ Furthermore, his excavations in 1967 within the eastern ravine uncovered the remarkable boulder channel that reaches far to the south to divert the torrent through the barrel vault within the foundations of the Propylon.¹⁰ The diversion must have been symbolic as well as practical: for the Propylon to accomplish its purpose, it needed to straddle the boundary of the Sanctuary, which, in this case, was the natural torrent. Rather than bring the Propylon to the torrent, the architects brought the torrent to the Propylon; such manipulation of topography and boundary signals a new attitude toward the dynamic of architecture and sacred terrain.

Jim McCredie focused the campaigns of the late 1960s and early 1970s on excavating the slope to the east of the Stoa and on clarifying the ancient route from the Propylon of Ptolemy II to the heart of the Sanctuary. The excavations below the Stoa brought to light for the first time an intricate network of rooms, several of which appear to have been especially connected with dining (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 7–8, 10; Fig. 3.11). Of all the regions within the Sanctuary, this area has the most complex stratigraphy, with multiple rebuildings stretching from the late 4th century B.C. into late antiquity. Again, McCredie deftly isolated the several phases to create a coherent architectural and social history of the region. The late-4th-century B.C. suite of dining rooms that he identified provided the first certain architectural evidence for dining within the Sanctuary (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 7; Fig. 3.11, L–N). Their location, on the opposite side of the torrent but immediately west of the area where the earliest 7th-century B.C. deposit of pottery and animal bones had been found in the 1950s (beneath the west chamber of the Hall of Choral Dancers), confirms a strong connection between the cult and dining. He uncovered stunning retaining walls built of fieldstone boulders set within a grid of porous sandstone buttresses and string courses, preserved to seven and originally reaching over nine meters in height. Built in the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., the main stretch of retaining wall supported part of the stoa terrace and, in combination with salient walls to the north and south, originally framed a broad, open area roughly level with the valley floor. The retaining walls themselves are a handsomely impressive display of engineering. However, it was the curious niche set into the southwestern corner that drew Jim McCredie's attention (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 9; Fig. 3.12).¹¹ Its oversized lintel supports two porous sandstone blocks that lean against each other to imitate the shape of a Bronze Age relieving triangle. The design immediately brings to mind the entrance of a Mycenaean tomb, but here the entrance leads only to a short narrow passage that terminates in a wall. Both its overt reference to the past and non-functional character led McCredie to connect the niche with Samothracian myth-history, proposing that it may have represented a cenotaph of the hero-founder of the cult, Aetion. Like so many of the more monumental structures within the Sanctuary, this archaistic niche stands in a class of its own, offering a very rare instance in which historical architects intentionally replicated Bronze Age architectural forms to create the impression of great antiquity.¹²

⁸ McCredie 1968, pp. 21–22, pl. 67.a–d.

⁹ McCredie 1979, pp. 4–6; *Samothrace* 10, pp. 91–93, pls LIV, LV–LVII; Wescoat, this volume.

¹⁰ McCredie 1968, pp. 214–215, pl. 65a; McCredie 1979, pp. 2–4; *Samothrace* 10, pp. 29–30, 137, figs 30a, 40.

¹¹ McCredie 1974; McCredie 1979, p. 12; Lehmann 1998, pp. 115–116.

¹² See Alcock 1994. The “Antre du Cynthe” on Delos is a slightly less potent parallel; *Délös* XI, pp. 228–255; Bruneau and Ducat

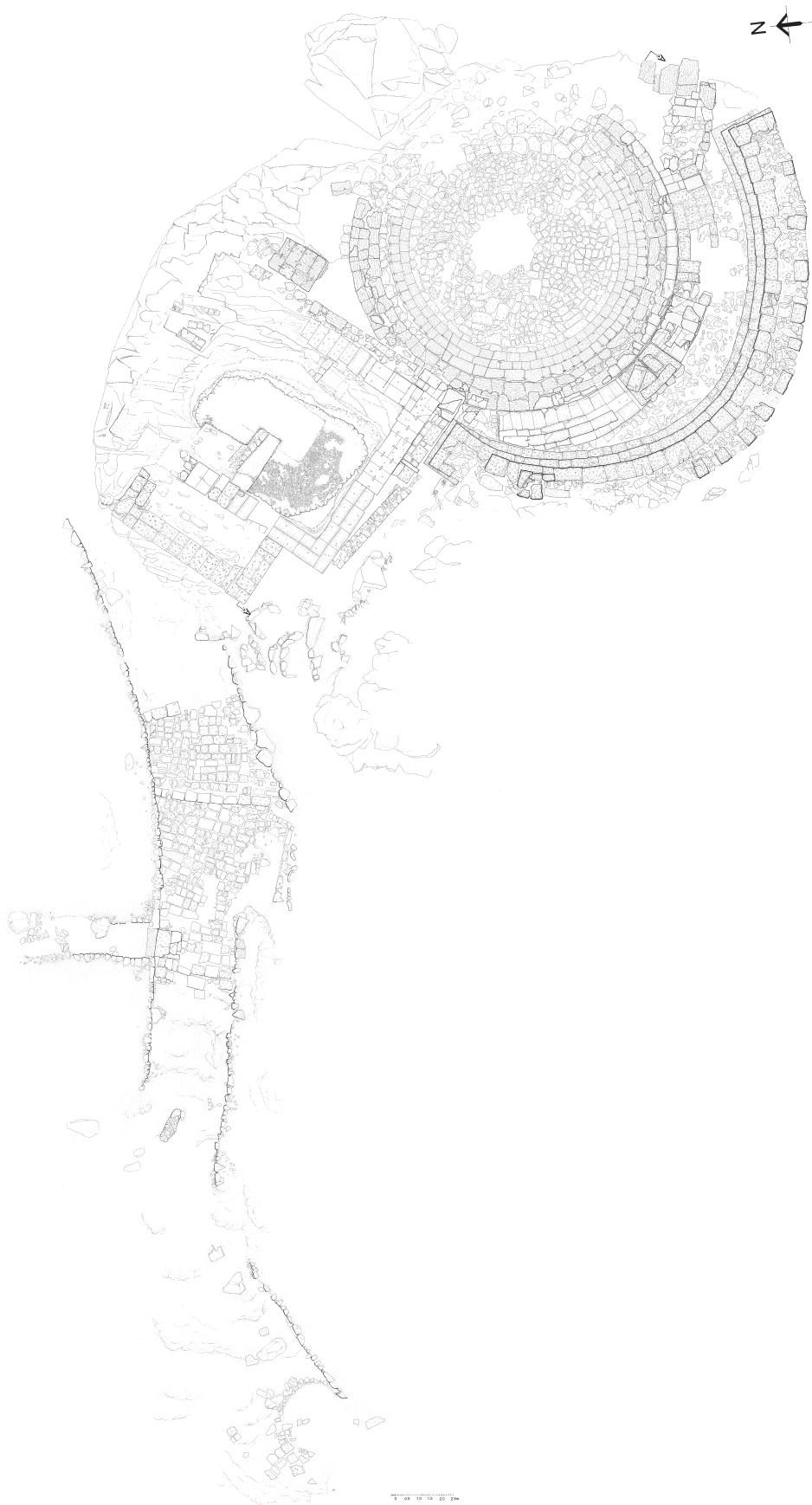


Figure 3.7. Actual state plan of the entrance complex on the Eastern Hill, with the Sacred Way. Drawing Andrea Day, John Kurtich, Aron Chang, Ryan Leidner.

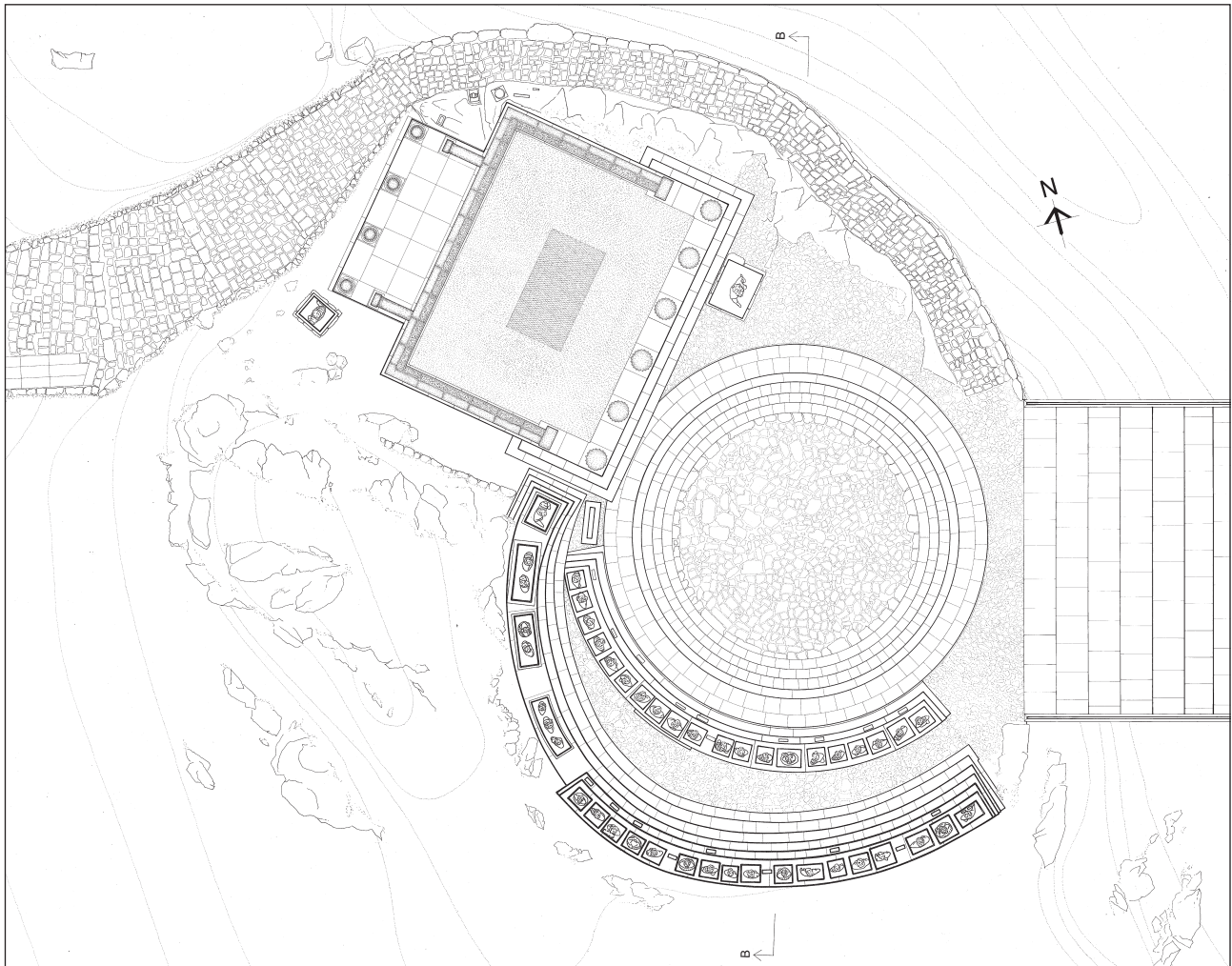


Figure 3.8. Reconstructed plan of the entrance complex on the Eastern Hill in the late Hellenistic period. Drawing Andrea Day.

Immediately to the south of the niche at an elevation intermediate between the valley floor and the stoa terrace, McCredie uncovered two chambers that probably bear some connection to the Theater (Figs 3.2–3.3, nos. 8, 10; Fig. 3.11, A and B). The larger of the two (no. 10 or A) had extensive remains of interior polychrome masonry-style plaster decoration.

In the level area framed by the Hellenistic retaining walls, McCredie's excavations revealed a complex and densely layered history (Fig. 3.11, C–H). Much of the current configuration illustrated in Figure 3.11 belongs to the Late Roman period and provides welcome evidence for the vigorous activity within the Sanctuary in the 3rd to 4th centuries A.D.¹³ It principally follows the plan of early Imperial chambers, which suggest a courtyard with adjacent rooms, including room J, whose terracotta paving tiles give it the appearance of a dining room. At least the part of the area now framed by the retaining walls was in service by the second half of the 4th century B.C., when a retaining wall and large chamber occupied the eastern portion of the area. This structure probably was connected with the dining activities in the contemporary three-room dining hall to the north (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 7, Fig. 3.11, L, M, N). The more utilitarian buildings uncovered in this region offer an important new dimension to our understanding of the life of the Sanctuary.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, campaigns also continued on the Eastern Hill, where Jim McCredie revealed large sections of the paved Sacred Way, trenched into the steep hillside leading from the Theatral

2005, pp. 283–285, no. 104. Whether the architect on Samothrace intended deliberately to “pass off” the niche as a Bronze Age monument or simply aimed to evoke a Bronze Age ambience, we cannot know; cf. Boardman 2002, p. 45.

¹³ As Jim McCredie rightly points out (1979, p. 14), we cannot be certain that the activity is connected with the cult, but it does seem a strong likelihood.

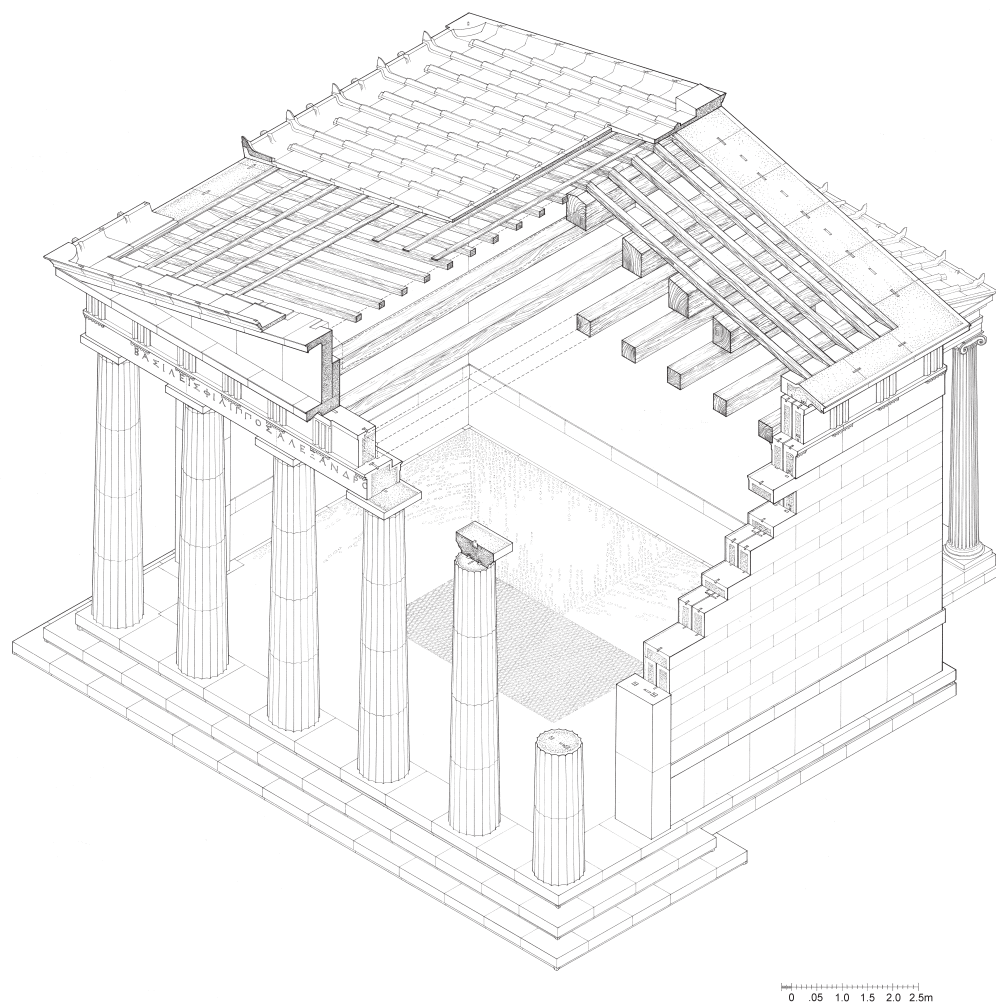


Figure 3.9. Axonometric cut-away of the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. Drawing Roger Chien, Jeannette Kuo, and Tetsuo Takamoto.

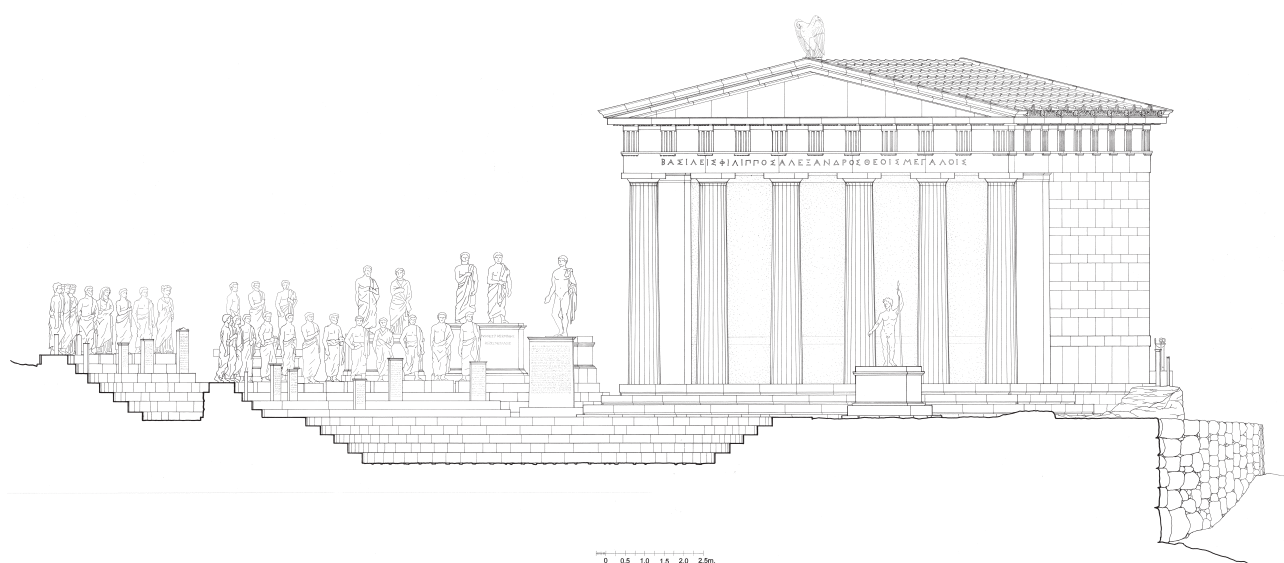


Figure 3.10. Restored section through the entrance complex on the Eastern Hill. Drawing Mathew Grant, Reagan Baydoun Reudig, and Albert F. Hopper.

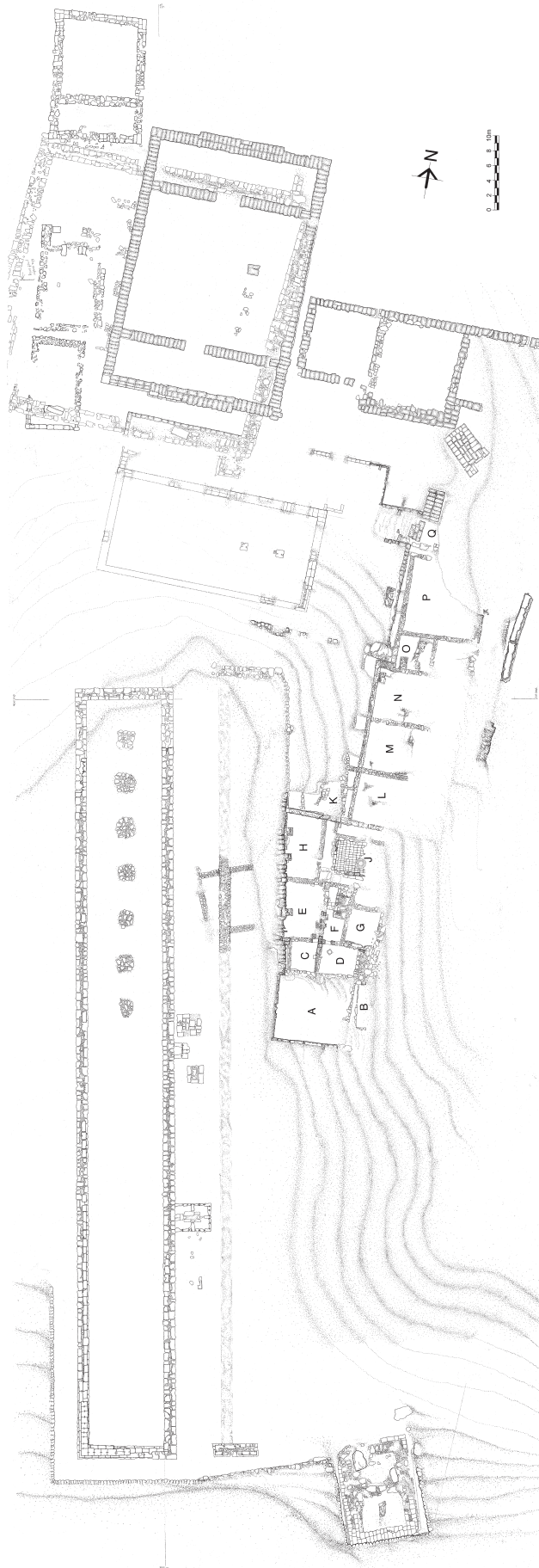


Figure 3.11. Actual state plan of the western side of the Sanctuary, during the excavation of the Ship Monument. Drawing John Kurtich.

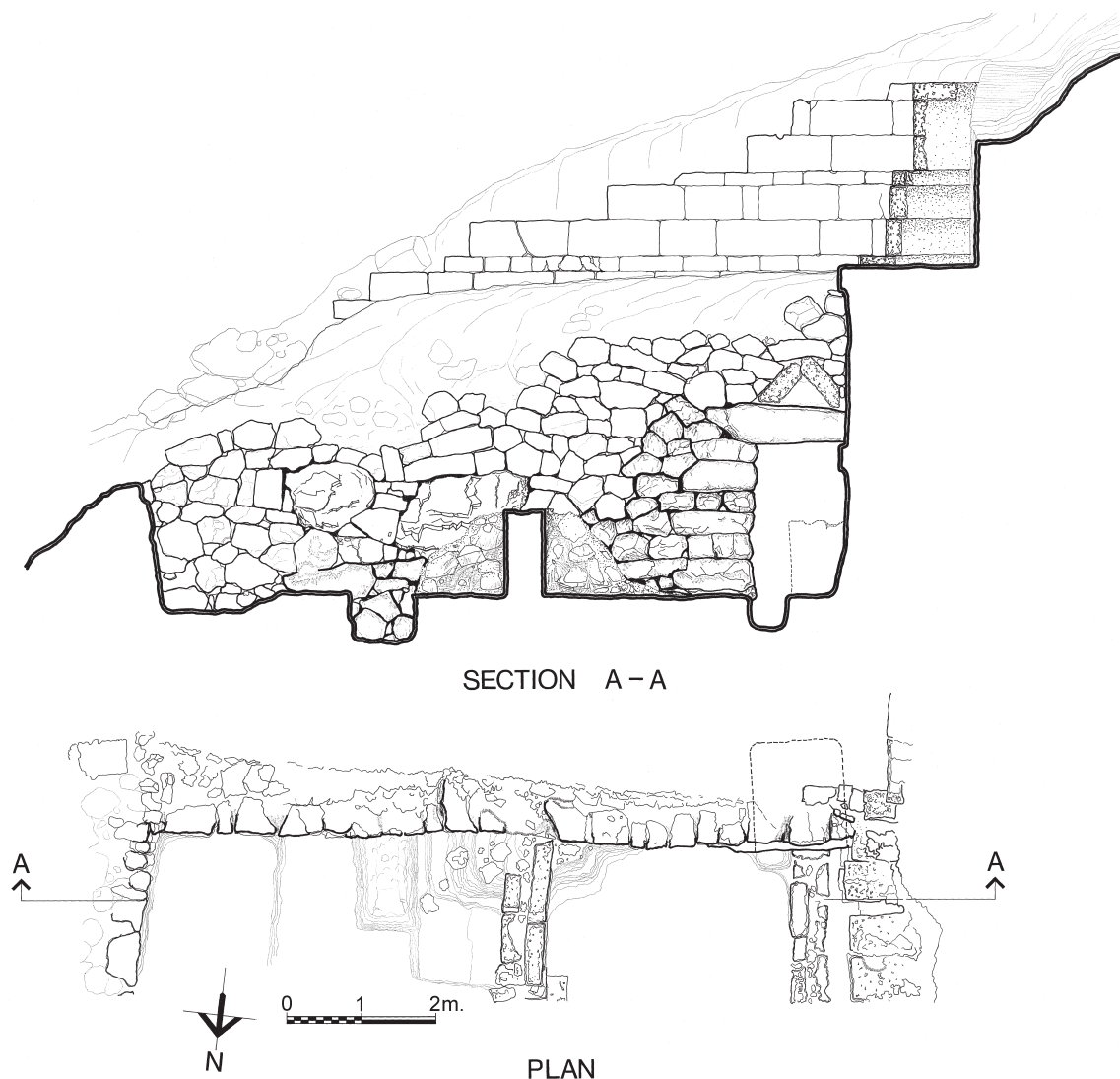
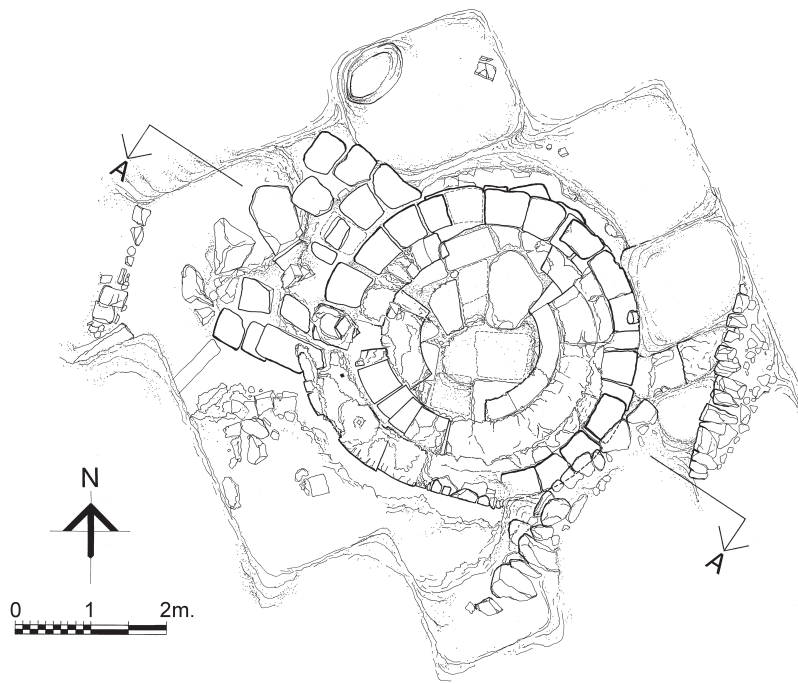


Figure 3.12. Actual state elevation and plan of the southern retaining wall in the region east of the Stoa, with the archaistic niche. Drawing John Kurtich.

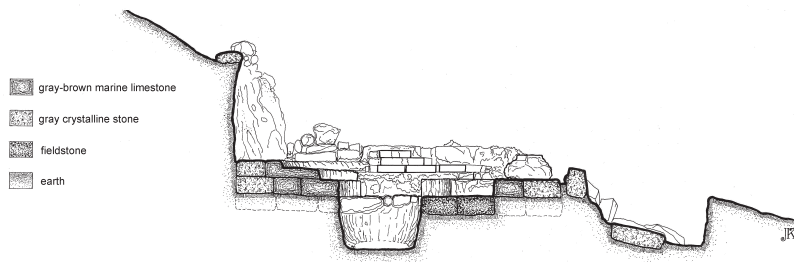
Complex to the central Sanctuary (Figs 3.2–3.3). Similar stretches, although in a much more ruinous state, were recovered to the northeast of the Propylon of Ptolemy II, showing that at one time a fully paved course led from the ancient city to the heart of the Sanctuary.

In tracing the path of the Sacred Way from the Eastern Hill to the central Sanctuary and the region to the east of the Rotunda of Arsinoe II in 1975, the team turned up a surface find of a very small fragment of a tuff lion's head waterspout. It signaled the presence of a building that turned out to be a small rotunda set on the ridge just to the east of its famous successor (Figs 3.13–3.15). Although the fragments of this building's superstructure were miniscule, they were sufficient for Jim McCredie to propose a reconstruction that accounted for most of the constituent features of its elevation, including a molded toichobate, smooth lower drum, upper gallery decorated with an engaged Doric order, and nonagonal roof. Remains of a ramp oriented to the northwest provided evidence for the entrance. The reasons for the orientation and the means of access remain obscure, as does the function of the structure. The descending steps on the interior might suggest a chthonic connection, but the paved floor stands against offerings poured into the earth. On the basis of its similarity to funerary monuments, McCredie has suggested that this rotunda might in fact be a cenotaph, perhaps in some way the predecessor of the archaistic niche.¹⁴

¹⁴ McCredie 1979, pp. 35–40; *Samothrace* 7, pp. 262–272.



PLAN



SECTION A-A

Figure 3.13 (*left*). Actual state plan and section of the Doric Rotunda. Drawing John Kurtich.

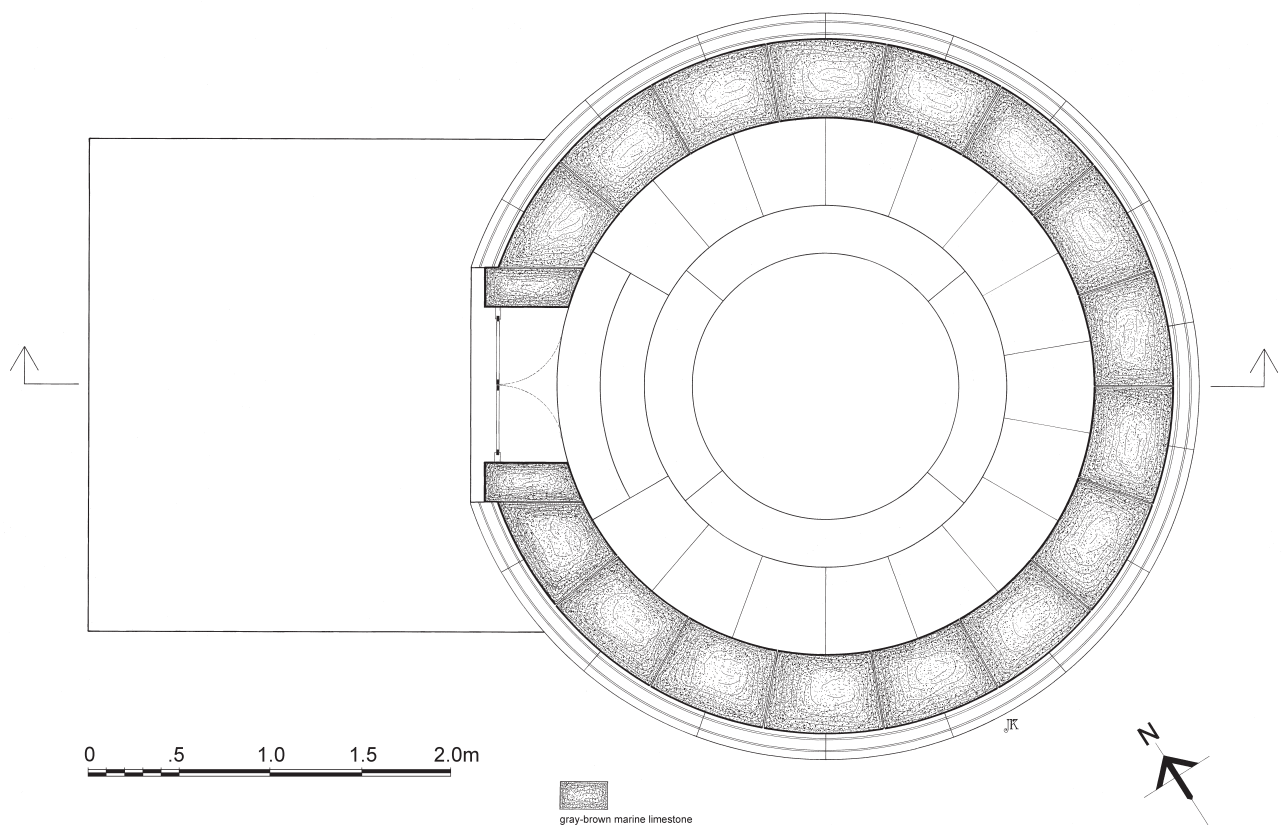


Figure 3.14 (*below*). Restored plan of the Doric Rotunda. Drawing John Kurtich.

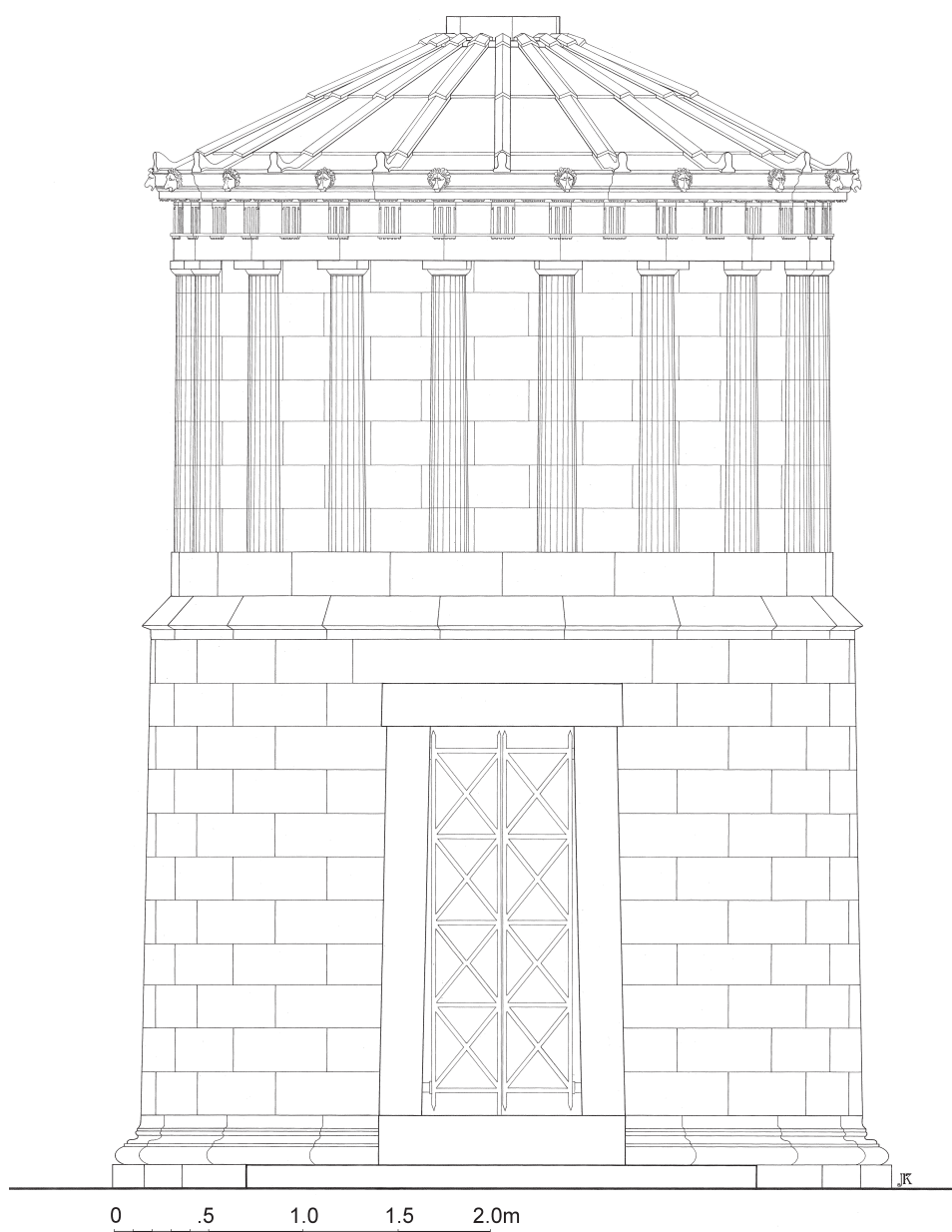


Figure 3.15. Restored elevation of the Doric Rotunda. Drawing John Kurtich.

During the early 1980s, Jim McCredie also assumed responsibility for the excavation, reconstruction, and publication of the Rotunda of Arsinoe II when Stuart Shaw, owing to poor health, was unable to continue. Justifiably the Sanctuary's most famous building, the Rotunda had been explored by nearly every archaeological mission to the island.¹⁵ The Austrian study resulted in an important set of drawings that documented individual elements and offered a romantic reconstruction placing the Rotunda in a bucolic landscape, its apex crowned with a statue of Nike.¹⁶ The evocative drawing helped bring the Rotunda to prominence within the history of Hellenistic architecture, but certain errors in the reconstruction, as well as additional unaccounted for features, rendered it archaeologically obsolete. Jim McCredie, working with chief architect John Kurtich, resolved the conflicting evidence for the roofing system by distinguishing the Roman reconstruction from the original Hellenistic roof (Figs 3.16–3.19).¹⁷ He clarified the diameter of the structure, the number of its

¹⁵ For the history of investigation, see P. P. Bober in *Samothrace* 7, pp. 1–28.

¹⁶ Conze, Hauser, and Niemann 1875, pp. 78–85, pls LIII–LXVII.

¹⁷ *Samothrace* 7. The initial set of block drawings completed by Stuart M. Shaw, were reviewed and inked for this volume by Claire Zimmerman. The reconstruction drawings were produced by John Kurtich under McCredie's direction.

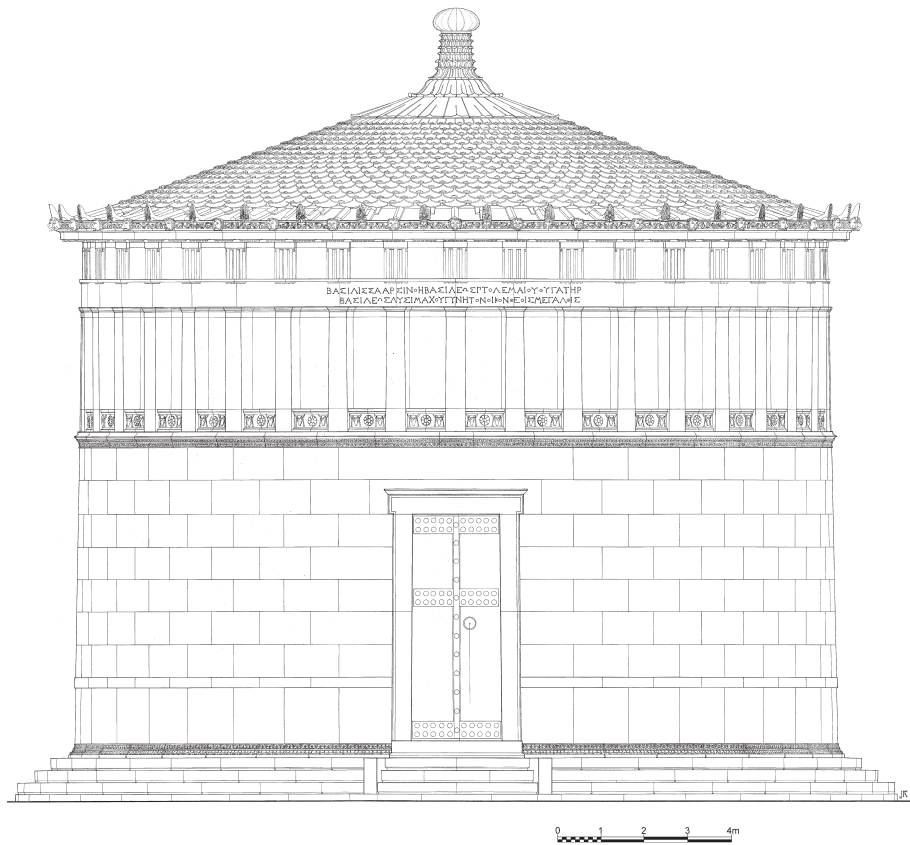


Figure 3.16. Restored elevation of the Rotunda of Arsinoe, Hellenistic period. Drawing John Kurtich.

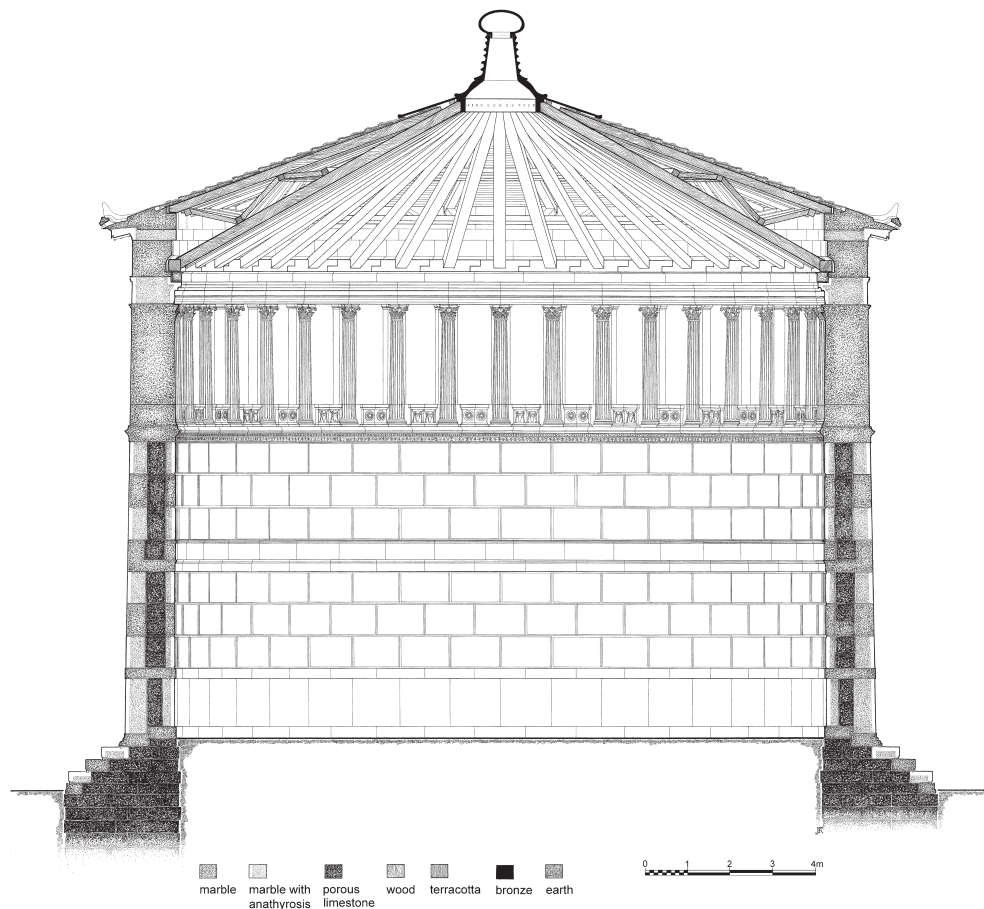


Figure 3.17. Restored section through the Rotunda of Arsinoe, Hellenistic period. Drawing John Kurtich.

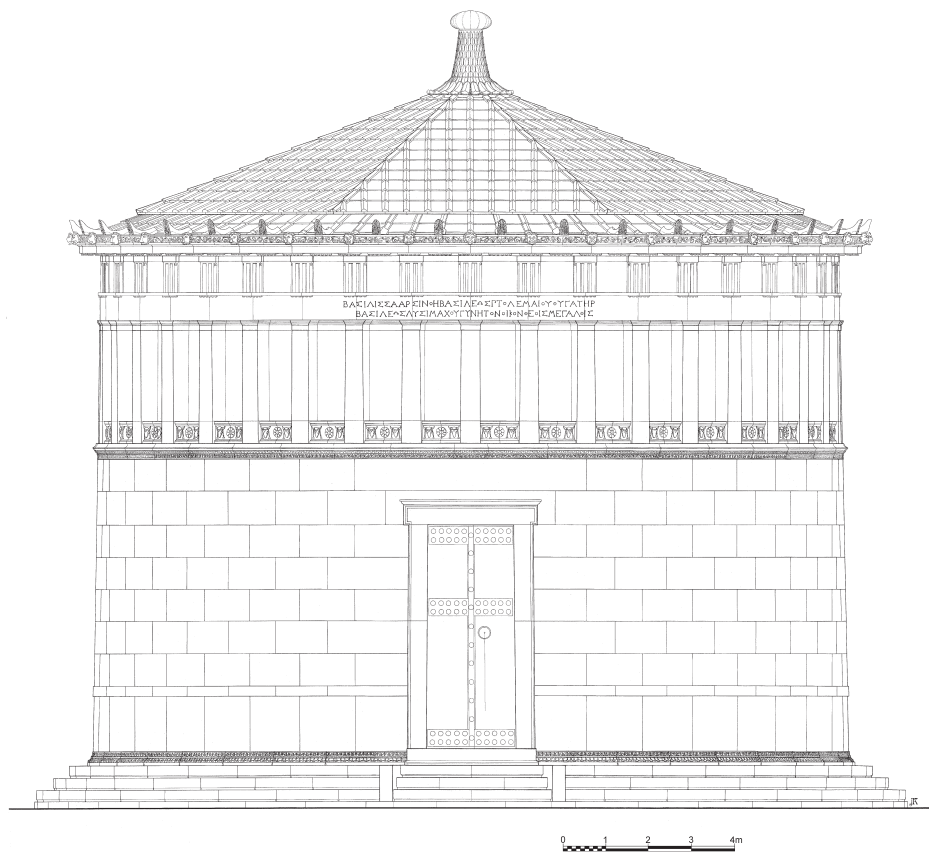


Figure 3.18. Restored elevation of the Rotunda of Arsinoe, Roman period. Drawing John Kurtich.

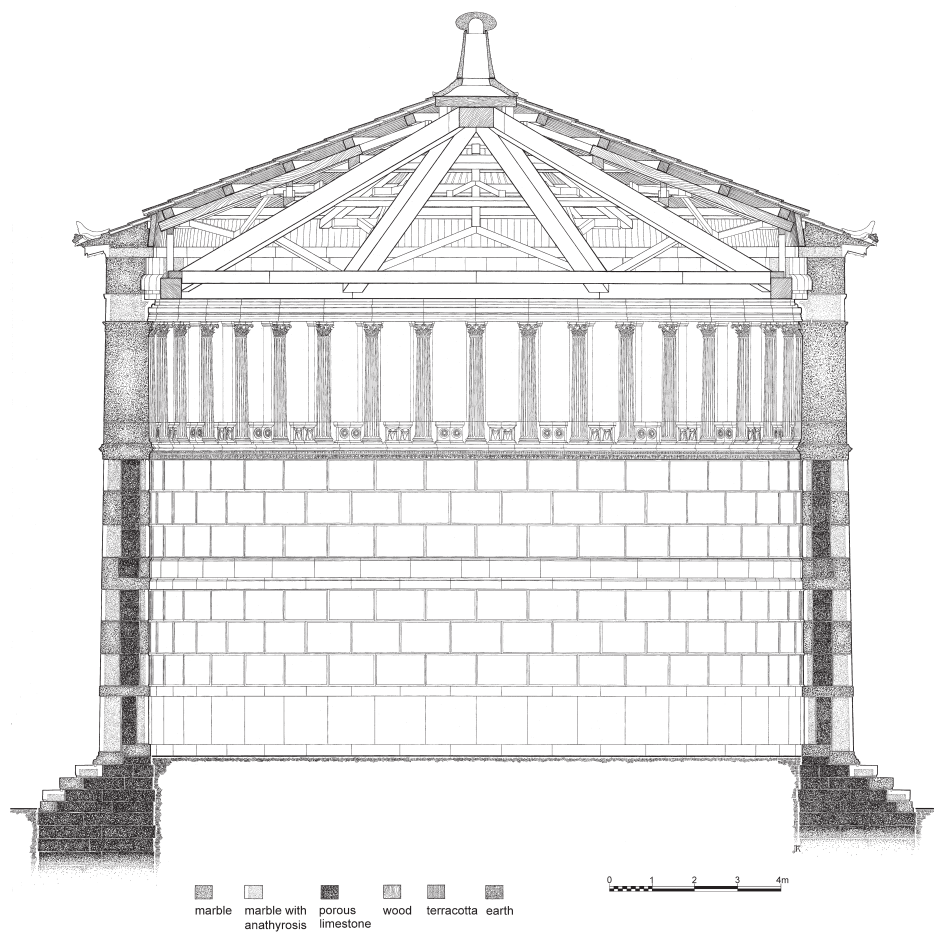


Figure 3.19. Restored section through the Rotunda of Arsinoe, Roman period. Drawing John Kurtich.

steps, the position of its wall base molding, the orientation of its door, and the height, battering, and interior articulation of its walls. The result is a taller building than the Austrians envisaged, and one with greater decorative detailing and architectural refinement, especially in the krepis and drum.

Investigations deep within the Rotunda (and to the north) also led to a revision in our understanding of its predecessor on the site, the Orthostate Structure (Fig. 3.20). Originally designated the Double Precinct, Jim McCredie demonstrated that the building was divided into three rather than two chambers. He also confirmed that while it was not archaic as proposed by the Lehmanns, the building nevertheless was of substantial importance to the cult, for it was twice replicated, once in the so-called Proto-Anaktoron, and then again in the Anaktoron. The Anaktoron itself, originally identified as archaic, was proved to be early Imperial.¹⁸

The 1980s also saw remarkable discoveries on the western side of the Sanctuary. On the intermediate terrace on the Western Hill, remains of a staircase and scattered marble and porous sandstone blocks had long been known. However, excavations of the 1980s revealed that the purpose of the terrace was not to provide access to the Stoa, but to accommodate a Neorion, housing an entire ship dedicated to the Great Gods (Figs 3.21–3.26).¹⁹ French and Czech excavators working in this region had, in fact, unearthed some of the marble supports that provided a cradle for the ship. Their purpose, however, remained unrecognized until excavations revealed the central marble supports that were still in place, as well as additional foundations for the several supports that originally secured the ship from stern to bow. Jim McCredie reconstructed the building, for which John Kurtich made a set of drawings that vividly capture its extraordinary function. Although only the lowest wall courses on the south and eastern sides remained in situ, supports for a central colonnade immediately made sense of the many porous sandstone column drums that had been reused in the Byzantine fort. The several marble blocks also found imbedded in the fort immediately north of the Neorion now clearly formed a pair of fine ordered doorframes; the evidence for windows was equally apparent, although their location less secure. The monument is remarkable chiefly for its purpose – we know of only one other building that appears to be designed to house a votive ship, the Monument of the Bulls on Delos. But the architect deserves credit for architectural ingenuity as well. The overall composition of the monument stands in a class by itself, although Jim McCredie has rightly pointed out the correlations between the ordered doorframes of the Neorion and the entrances of Macedonian tombs, both in design and in certain constructional features. The connection is intriguing, especially when attempting to determine whose ship it was and who dedicated it to the Great Gods.²⁰

The Neorion was flanked on both sides by smaller buildings that document important activities in the Sanctuary. The late-3rd-century B.C. Hestiatorion to the east of the Neorion, with its antechamber and large dining chamber, further demonstrates the rich diversity of dining establishments in the Sanctuary. To the west, a rectangular building of Roman Imperial date still contained two statue bases and was equipped with a built-in bench, probably for additional votives. Most imperial construction within the Sanctuary went toward the repair or rebuilding of existing monuments, but this structure, although of humble scale and construction, provides further evidence that the Sanctuary continued to expand in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.²¹

During this period, the other great naval monument, the Winged Victory of Samothrace, was also the subject of study. As part of an investigation into the nature of the architectural frame that formed the niche in which the Nike stood, Jim McCredie produced detailed studies of the actual state of the monument (Fig. 3.27). Although investigations are ongoing, Jim McCredie has abandoned Karl Lehmann's idea that the Victory originally stood in a fountain.²² Water may no longer flow to the Nike, but its role in the Sanctuary is undeniably documented in the network of pipes McCredie discovered to the east of the Propylon of Ptolemy II and at the south end of the Stoa.²³

In the 1990s, Jim McCredie brought renewed attention to the heart of the Sanctuary. The monument

¹⁸ McCredie 1979, pp. 28–35; Lehmann 1998, pp. 56–61, 70–72, fig. 26.

¹⁹ McCredie 1986–1987; McCredie 1987–1988; McCredie 1988–1989; Lehmann 1998, pp. 107–113; Wescoat 2005.

²⁰ For an inscription later cut into one of the door jambs, see Pounder, this volume.

²¹ McCredie 1988–1989, pp. 95–96.

²² For the Victory, see Palagia, this volume.

²³ McCredie 1965, p. 120, pls 36c, 37c, 38a–b; McCredie 1979, fig. 2; *Samothrace* 10, pp. 135–137, figs 86–87, pl. IX (Propylon of Ptolemy II); McCredie 1965, pp. 113–114, pl. 33b–c (Stoa). An earlier hydraulic system with a broad pipe wrapping around the diazoma of the Theater was discovered by the French-Czech team but no traces of it survive today; Chapouthier, Salač, and Salviat 1956, p. 132, figs 4, 19–20, 23.

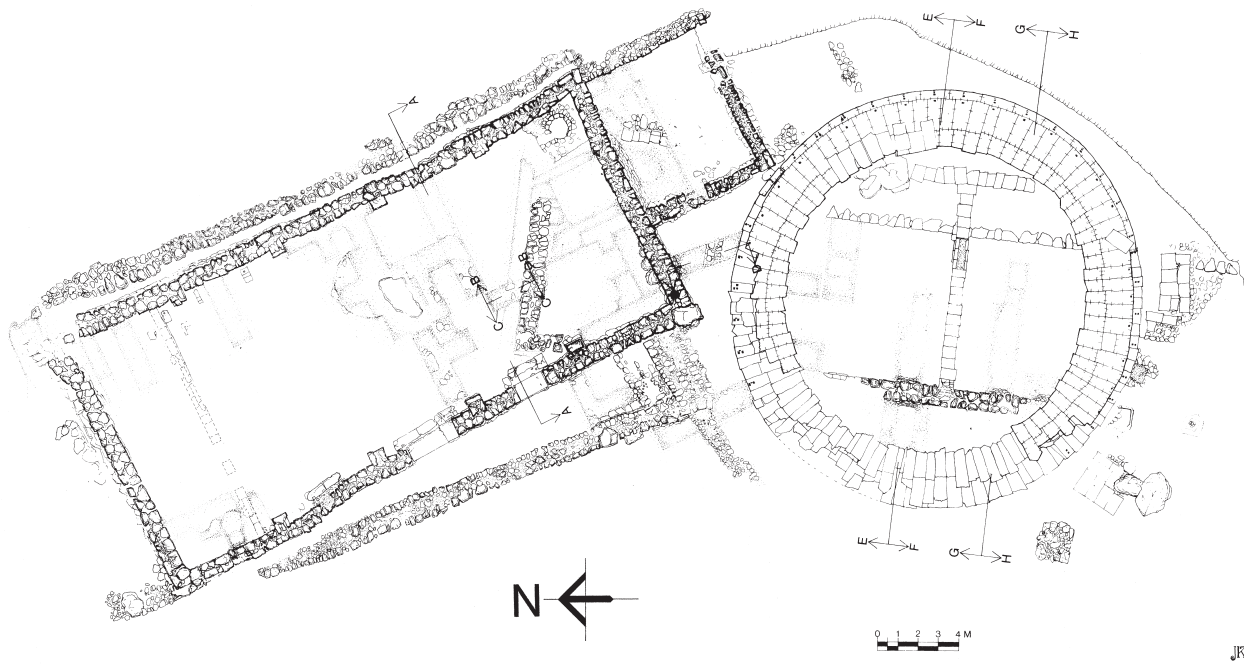


Figure 3.20. Actual state plan of the Rotunda of Arsinoe and Anaktoron. The remains of the Orthostate Structure can be seen within the Rotunda, the Sacristy, and the Anaktoron. The west wall of the Proto-Anaktoron appears to the west of the Anaktoron. Drawing John Kurtich.

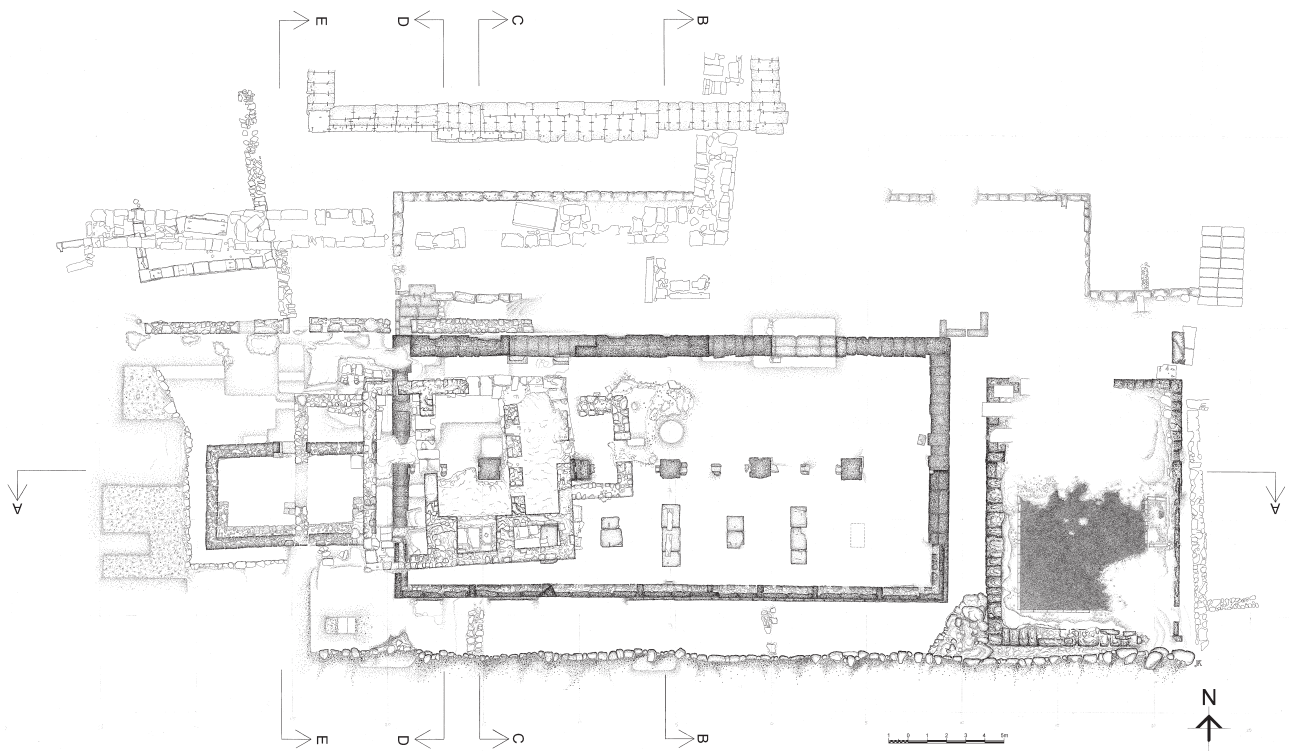


Figure 3.21. Actual state of the Neorion (left) and Hestiatorion (right) on the intermediate terrace of the Western Hill. Drawing John Kurtich.

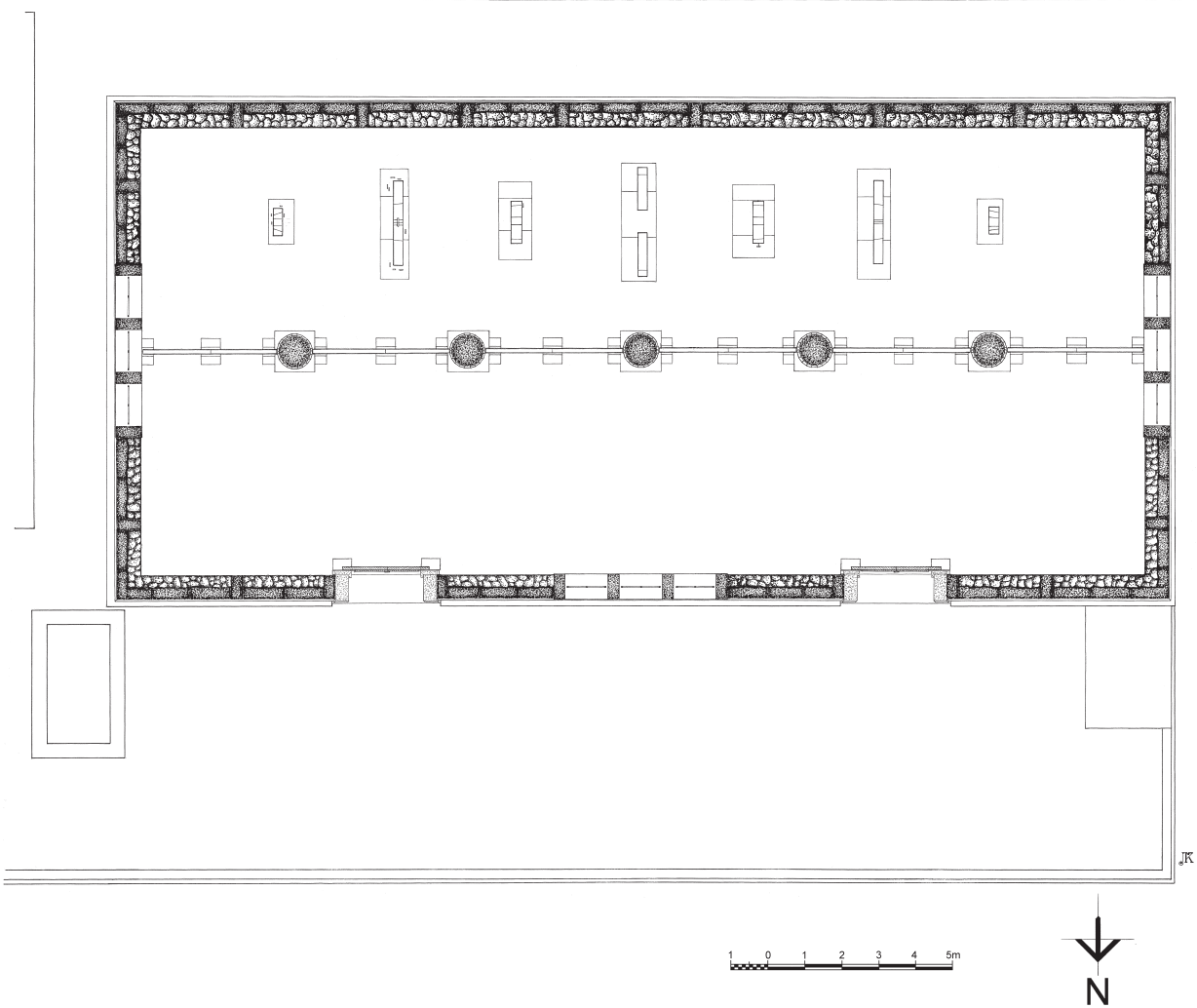


Figure 3.22. Restored plan of the Neorion. Drawing John Kurtich.

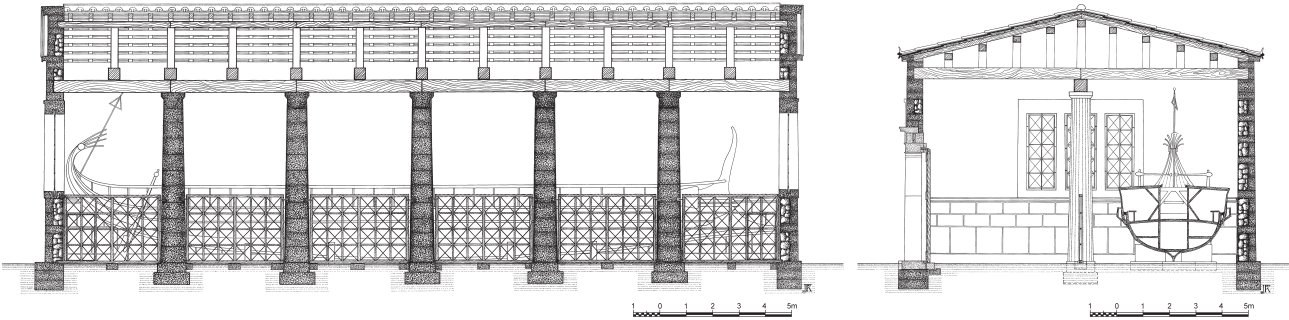


Figure 3.23. Transverse and lateral sections of the Neorion. Drawing John Kurtich.

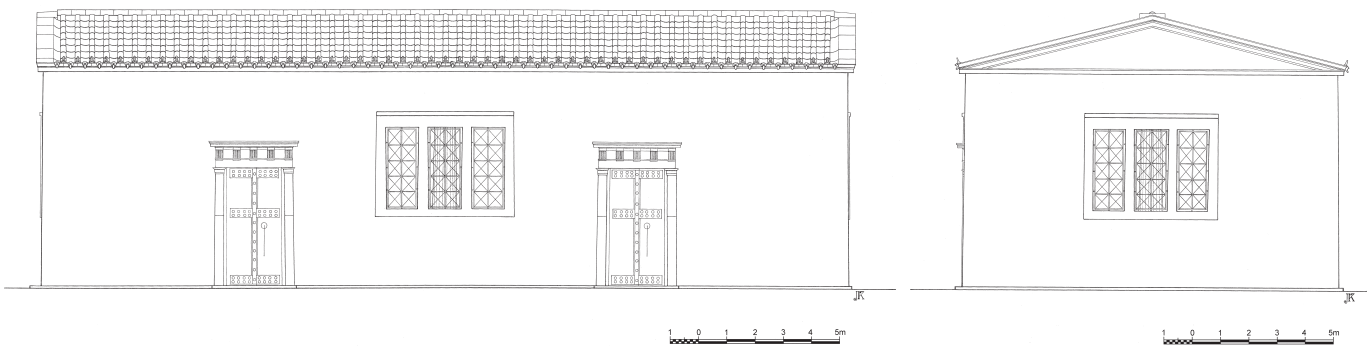


Figure 3.24. Restored north facade and west side of the Neorion. Drawing John Kurtich.

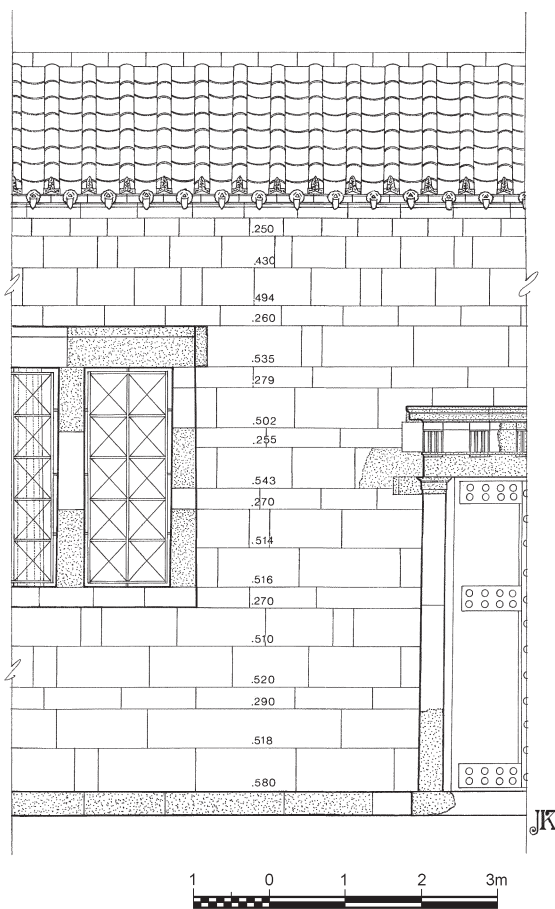


Figure 3.25. South elevation of the Neorion, with blocks restored to their original position. Drawing John Kurtich.

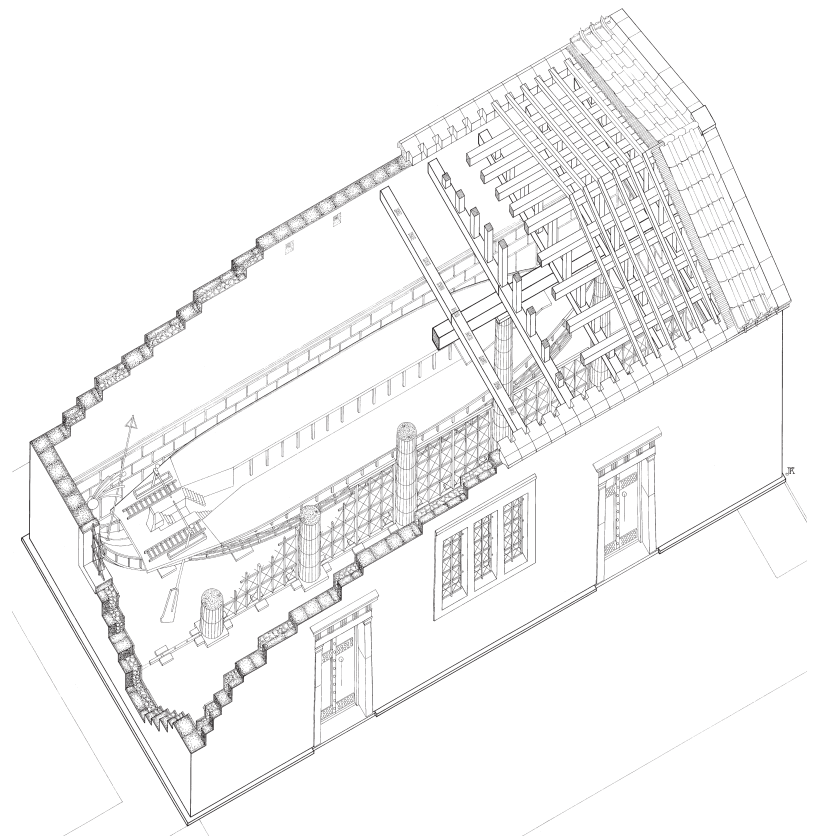


Figure 3.26. Oblique cut-away reconstruction of the Neorion. Drawing John Kurtich.

known to the Austrians as the “Old Temple” and to the Lehmanns as the “Temenos” occupies the center of the sacred space and rests over the earliest deposit of shattered drinking vessels and burnt animal bones (Fig. 3.1D).²⁴ According to the Lehmanns, the precinct consisted of four main elements: a boulder retaining wall supporting a northern terrace, a walled but unroofed temenos entered through an Ionic winged propylon, and

²⁴ Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 1–32, pls II–X; *Samothrace* 5, especially pp. 267–269 for the early deposits.



Figure 3.27. Actual state plan and elevation of the Nike Monument. Drawing John Kurtich.

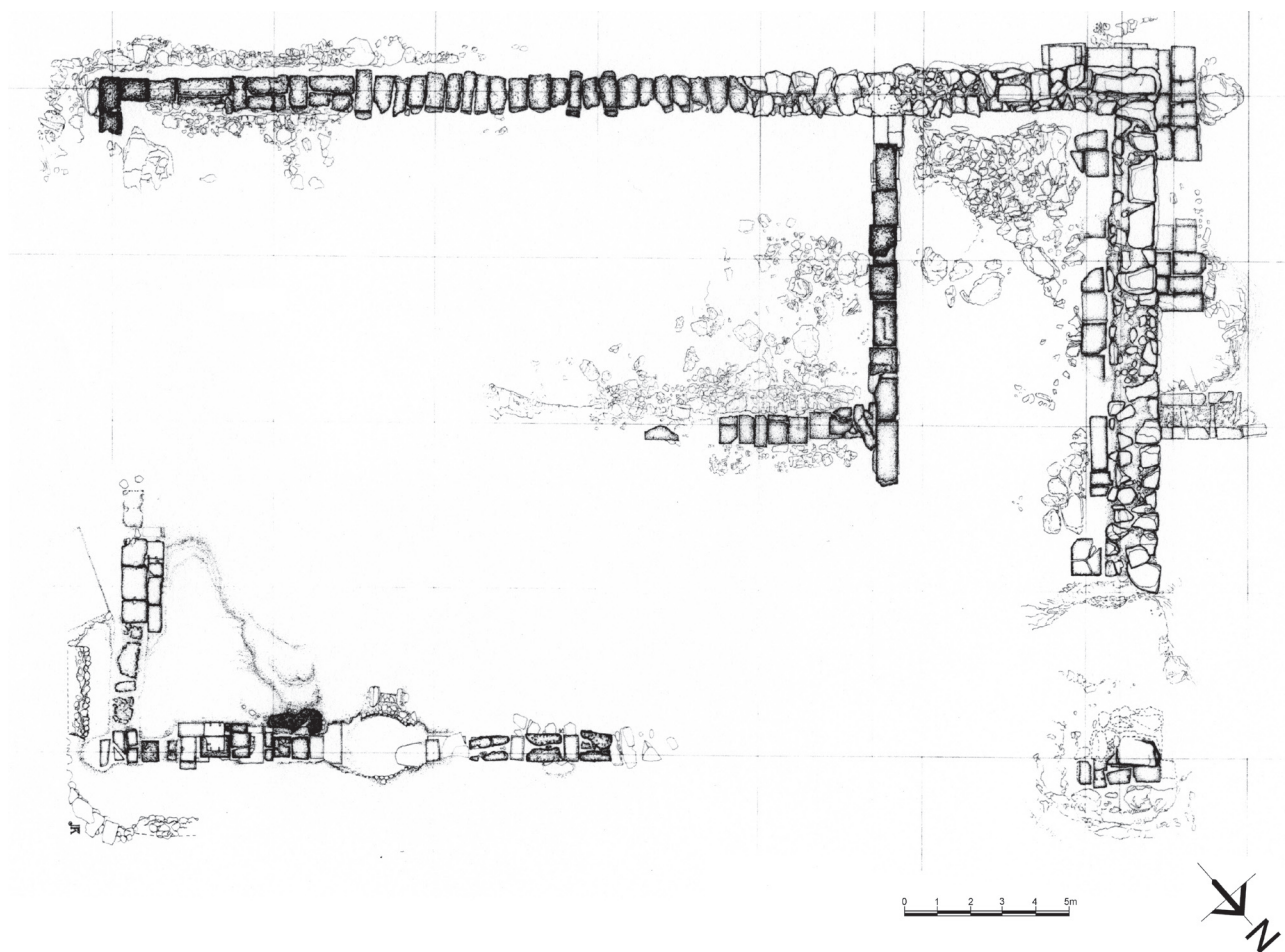


Figure 3.28. Actual state plan of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

a rock altar alternately associated with Hekate or Aphrodite-Zerynthia.²⁵ Observing the analogous construction and architectural alignment of the northern boulder foundation with the structure identified as the altar to the east, McCredie began excavation in the region of the latter. He demonstrated that the “altar” was not an independent entity but in fact the northeast corner of the massive northern boulder foundation (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 17; Fig. 3.28). To the southeast, he uncovered an ashlar foundation running parallel to the long foundations of the “Temenos,” which was met by a foundation aligned with the back wall of the “Temenos.” The ancient builders had cut deeply into the hillside to create a level building site, retaining the remaining hillside with a massive boulder wall. Here, McCredie uncovered marble blocks forming the entire elevation of the southeastern corner of the building.²⁶

These discoveries have generated the greatest reconfiguration of the central Sanctuary since the discovery of the Anaktoron in 1938. Clearly, the structure was not an open-air temenos as previously supposed, nor was its entrance a propylon on the eastern side. Instead, Jim McCredie has demonstrated that the building faced northwest and was fully roofed; it had two deep chambers connected by a deep Ionic *prostōon* with tetrastyle wings; and, it was entirely encircled by a continuous frieze of hundreds of dancing maidens (Figs 3.29–3.33).²⁷ The winged facade is in fact closer in scale to the winged stoas (although these are of Doric order) with which it was originally compared.²⁸ Its potential connection with the *skene* and *paraskenia* of theaters is even more

²⁵ The position of the so-called altar is drawn south of its actual position on Fig. 3.1, but it is correctly placed on the actual state plan in *Samothrace* 5, pl. I. For the identification of the foundation as an altar of Hekate or Aphrodite Zerynthia, see *Samothrace* 5, pp. 293–296, figs 242–244.

²⁶ McCredie 1994–1995; McCredie 1995–1996; McCredie 1996–1997; Lehmann 1998, pp. 73–78, fig. 32.

²⁷ On the frieze, see Marconi, this volume.

²⁸ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 85–89. There are important differences, including order, position of the colonnade behind the wings, and the

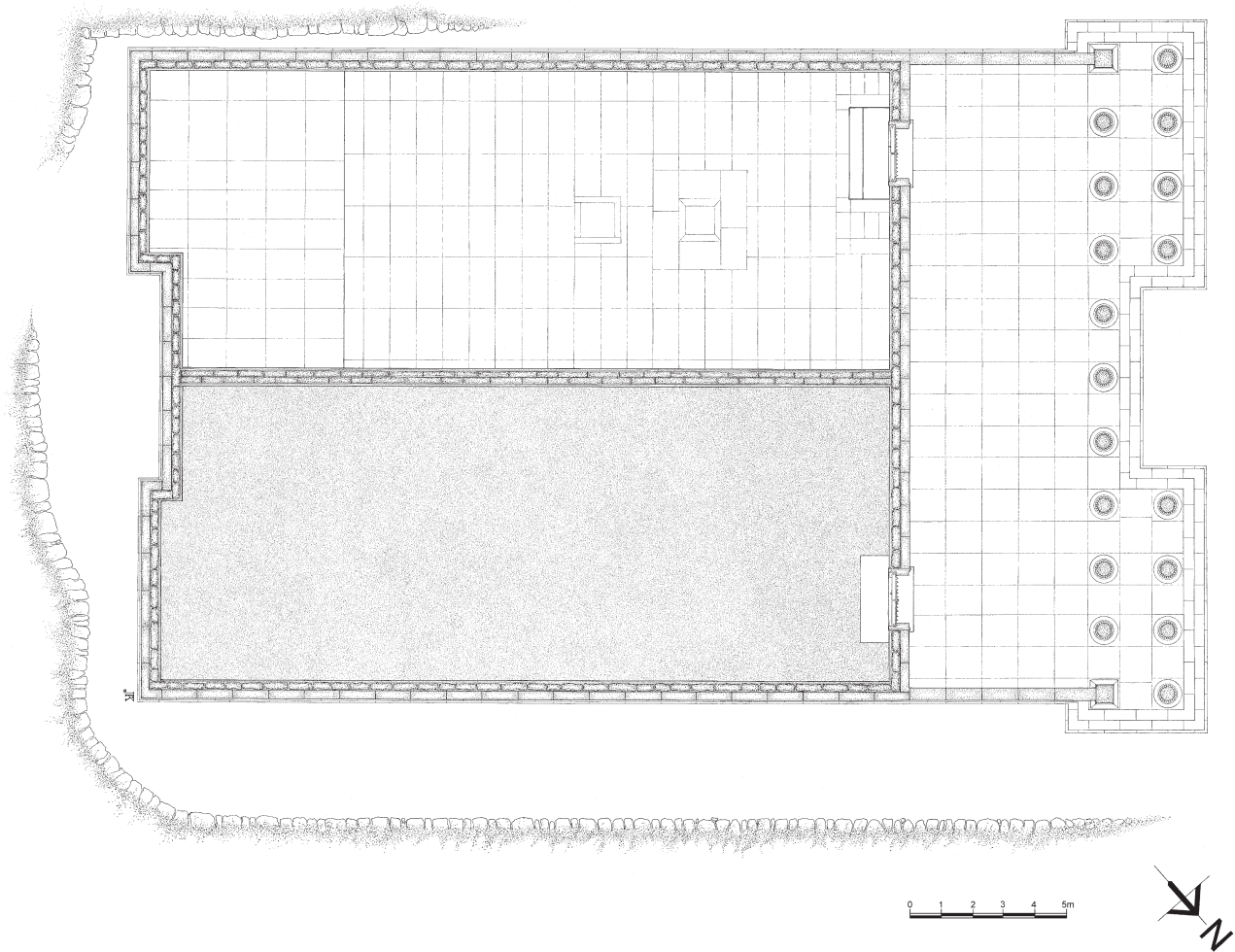


Figure 3.29. Restored plan of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

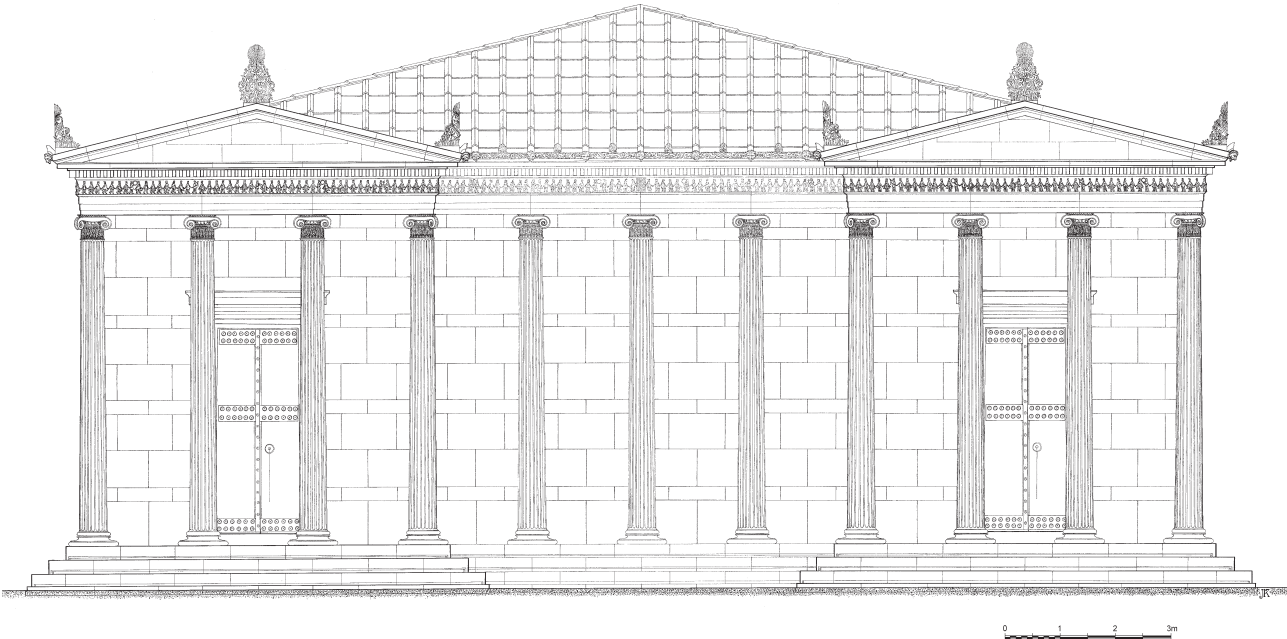


Figure 3.30. Restored north facade of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

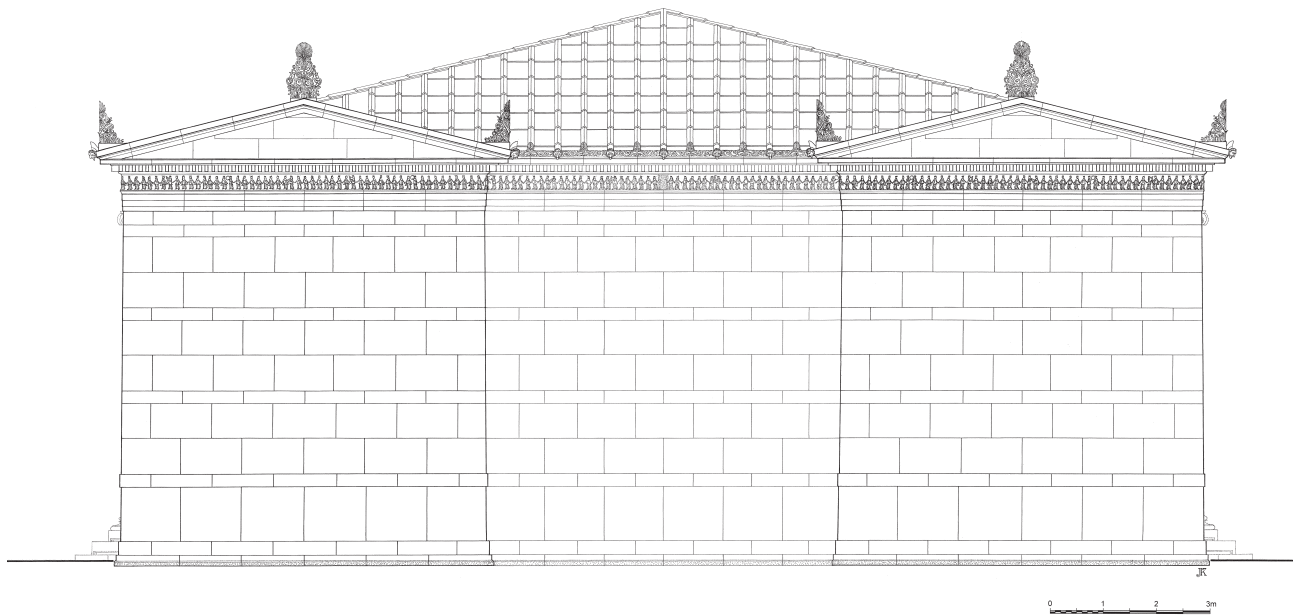


Figure 3.31. Restored south elevation of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

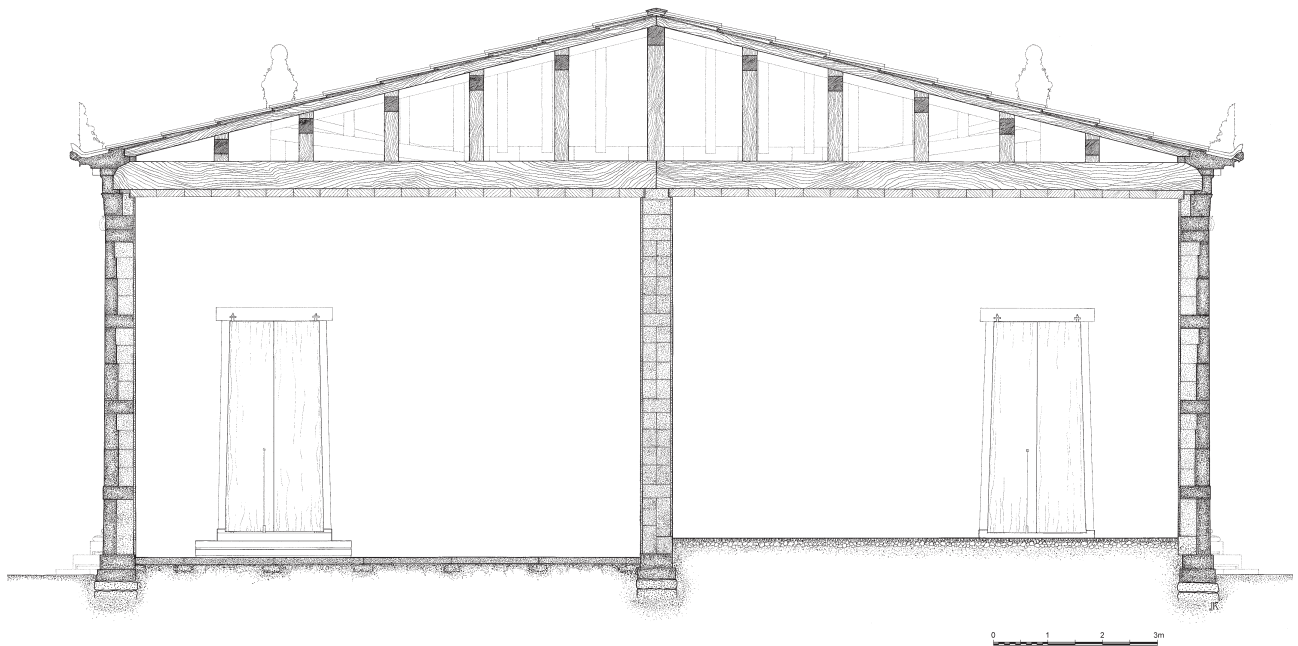


Figure 3.32. Restored section through the Hall of Choral Dancers, looking north. Drawing John Kurtich.

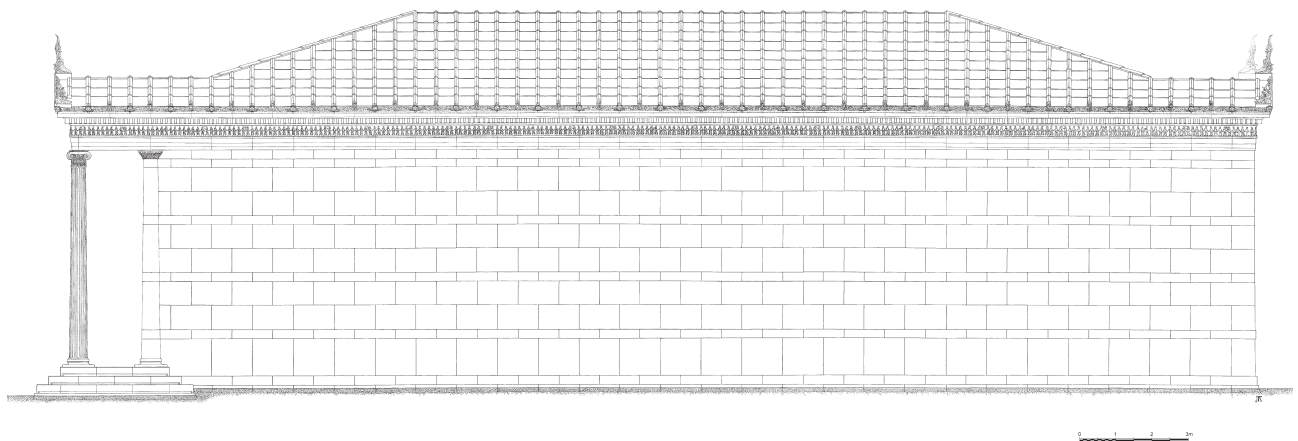


Figure 3.33. Restored west elevation of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

striking, as both are pierced by doors leading to real (in the case of the Hall of Choral Dancers) or imagined (in the case of theaters) spaces. The slender monolithic columns, as now restored, are considerably taller than originally suggested. The massive marble beams that stretched across the full width of the prostóon to support the coffered ceiling reflect extraordinary boldness, as does the complex roofing system. Elegant floral akroteria crowning the projecting wings of both facades can now be added to the details of the order.

The new reconstruction made clear that the functionally descriptive names earlier assigned to the building, “Old Temple” and “Temenos,” no longer applied. With characteristic care to select a new name that would be expressive yet functionally neutral, Jim McCredie chose Hall of Choral Dancers. The architectural significance of the building, both to the history of the Sanctuary and to Greek architecture generally, cannot be overestimated. Constructed in the third quarter of the 4th century, the Hall of Choral Dancers is the earliest of the marble buildings that would rapidly come to distinguish the Sanctuary in the late 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Its construction coincides with Philip II’s legendary interest in the island; elements of its Ionic entablature, particularly the combination of a frieze course and dentils, recall Philip II’s tholos at Olympia. A connection between the king and the Sanctuary that would become so central to Macedonian and Ptolemaic royal interests is hard to ignore.

While the centrality of the building to the Sanctuary goes unquestioned, its specific role in the cult of the Great Gods remains contested. The Lehmanns assigned the two degrees of initiatory rites, the *myesis* and *epopteia*, to the Anaktoron and Hieron respectively, interpreting the “Temenos” as a precinct especially sacred to Aphrodite, serving for sacrifice, libation, and ritual drama.²⁹ The position of the building, its substantial size, and (for the Sanctuary) its early date, all raise the possibility that the Hall of Choral Dancers served as the central hall of initiation, or telesterion. If so, what functions did the Anaktoron and Hieron serve? If the Hall of Choral Dancers is not the central cult structure, what function did it serve? Several contributors to this volume have taken up the problem; their very different solutions have generated a lively debate that promises to keep the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at the forefront of Hellenistic studies.³⁰

Through his investigations, James R. McCredie has defined a radically different sacred space from the one he inherited in 1962. A plan that suggested scattered monuments in sacred groves has given way to one documenting a densely knit fabric of buildings whose architects both manipulated and exploited the striking terrain. He has rewritten much of the Sanctuary’s architectural history. Several monuments once thought to be archaic have been redefined as early Imperial, adding weight to the Roman interest in the cult of the Great Gods and mythology of the Samothracian heroes amply suggested by ancient testimonia and initiate lists.³¹ The Sanctuary has lost some of its rock altars, but it has gained even more evocative structures such as the archaistic niche, which exploits Mycenaean forms to conjure up a faux-Bronze Age pedigree for the Sanctuary. The Ionic architecture once thought to configure a small but elegant propylon to an open-air temenos now stretches across a facade of a fully-roofed building that commands the breadth of the central Sanctuary. Although many of these discoveries called for fundamental revisions of the Lehmanns’ reconstructions and interpretations of the design and history of the Sanctuary, Jim McCredie presented them in such a kind and gentlemanly manner that Phyllis Williams Lehmann remained his staunchest ally, deeply admiring his skill and intelligence, as well as valuing his friendship and company.

While McCredie’s work has provided many answers, it has also generated key questions that place the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at an exciting crossroads for future research. There are now more sacred buildings than the known actions of the cult require. In coming to terms with their function, future scholars can confidently rely on the rich archaeological and architectural record built by James R. McCredie.

obvious fact that it is part of a larger structure. For winged stoas, see Coulton 1976, pp. 81–85, fig. 23.

²⁹ P. W. Lehmann (*Samothrace* 5, pp. 288–289) connects the precinct with the statue of Aphrodite and Pothos that Pliny says was worshiped on Samothrace with most sacred ceremonies (*HN* 36.5.25).

³⁰ On the Hieron: Clinton 2003; Palagia et al. 2009. On the Victory: Palagia, this volume. On the Hall of Choral Dancers: Marconi, this volume.

³¹ *Samothrace* 1; Lehmann 1998, pp. 24–25. For initiate lists, see most recently Dimitrova 2008.

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4. Problems in Island Archaeology: Towards an Archaeology of Religion on Samothrace

Dimitris Matsas

Material and documentary evidence from Samothrace since the early 2nd millennium B.C. allows a diachronic correlation between aspects of material and non-material culture exemplified by three separate case studies, which provide an insight into the archaeology of religion particular to this island. The first concerns the small corpus of Minoan clay mini-documents from *Mikro Vouni* (second half of the 18th century B.C.) and the role of religious symbols in the economic activities of Minoan elites. The second comes from the famous Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the advent of monumental architecture (second half of the 4th–early 3rd century B.C.) as a result of outside interest and investment, marking the beginning of Macedonian royal patronage initiated by Philip II. From that time onwards, the Sanctuary controls as *ἐπὰ χῶρα* extensive land on the opposite mainland, and the island enters an extensive period of nearly complete integration with the outside world. Finally, the circumstances in the late 18th century A.D. under which the Athonite convent of Iviron acquired, as a *metochi* (dependency),¹ land spreading over much of the island, are examined, much more directly than the two former cases, from non-archaeological data including both textual sources and oral testimony. In antiquity, external contacts associated with a relevant ideology of maritime culture prevail, promoting interactions with neighboring systems, while in recent times the island remained in seclusion, depending almost exclusively on the exploitation of its internal resources.

Samothrace, mainly known for its Sanctuary of the Great Gods and their mystery cult, has recently been systematically investigated also outside this great sacred center. Archaeological research has focused on the cultural sequence of the island during later prehistory and proto-history before the arrival of the first Greek settlers, and has included excavation at the Late Neolithic – Bronze Age site *Mikro Vouni*, the Early Iron Age fortified site of *Vrychos*, and the open-air sanctuary at *Mantal Panayia*, as well as an archaeological and ethno-archaeological survey of the islandscape (Fig. 4.1). The clearly defined spatial boundaries² of the island make it easier than in the case of mainland environments to draw a distinction between the dynamic of external contacts/integration into broader political, economic and ideological systems on the one hand, and the interaction between the island population and the local resources on the other.³ This twin dynamic largely determines the nuclear or dispersed settlement pattern recorded archaeologically; it governs the conditions of the island's autonomy and forms the terms of stability and change. The diachronic perspective of the similarities and contrasts over time may be checked by analyzing archaeological and ethno-archaeological/ethno-historical evidence. This analysis allows us to trace the relations between the material remains and the intangible social, political and ideological parameters that are directly or indirectly implied by them.

A relatively small island of no great importance, Samothrace stood in antiquity at the interface between the Greek and the non-Greek world. Religion and ritual played a dominant role in the history of the island and gave it a distinctive character.⁴ Tracing this role in archaeological terms is confined generally to conclusions drawn from the study of the material remains, with whatever distortion of their meaning was involved in the

¹ *Metochi* is a grange or other annex belonging to a monastery. The monastery of the Iberians was founded in 979 or 986 by three Iberians or Georgians under charter from the Byzantine emperor Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer (see Treadgold 1997, p. 516).

² Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, p. 2; Broodbank 2000, pp. 21–23, 32–35; Knapp and Blake 2005, p. 9.

³ Cherry et al. 1991.

⁴ Coleman 1997; Renfrew 2007a.

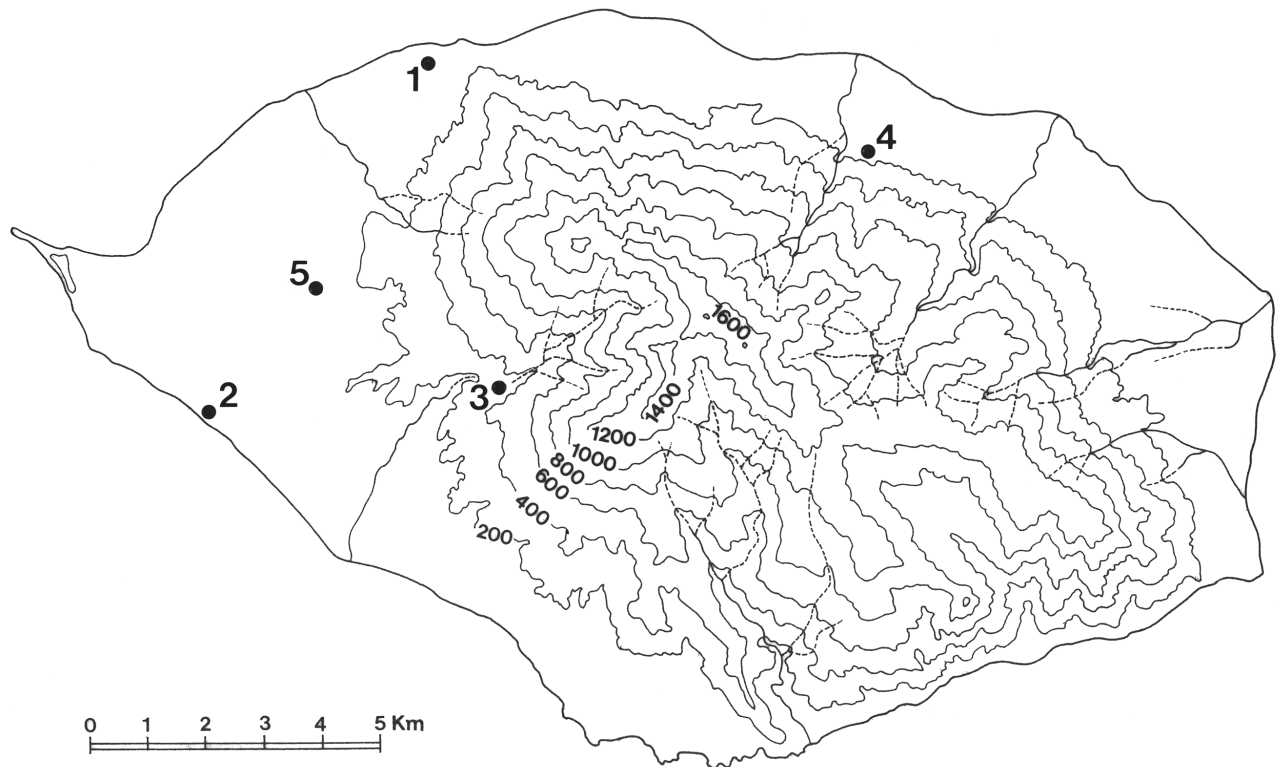


Figure 4.1. Topographical map of Samothrace with the sites mentioned in the text. 1. Sanctuary of the Great Gods. 2. *Mikro Vouni*. 3. *Mantal' Panayia*. 4. Monastery of Christos. 5. Monastery of Ayios Athanasios.

course of their transfer from the systemic to the archaeological context.⁵ In addition to the archaeological recognition of cult and ritual,⁶ it is also possible to trace the political and economic parameters that operate in the boundary area between this earthly world and the Otherworld,⁷ behind the religious excess of ritual practice, the associated symbolism and emotion (fear, awe, relief, happiness) that characterized the approach to the deity. It is generally agreed that religion and ideology are not epiphenomena, nor simply *ex post facto* developments to justify an existing political hierarchy. They are decisive factors that may be used competitively by people and social groups to consolidate or legitimize their rule; they may even function homeostatically between mutually interdependent systems.⁸ The archaeological record of Samothrace (e.g., the monumental buildings of the 4th century B.C. in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods) enables us to some extent to trace the relationship between the scale of ideological investment and the strength of political authority. Acceptance of the latter presupposes consent to a context of beliefs or political philosophy,⁹ as happened in the Middle Ages and modern times in the northern Aegean, where close links are characteristically found between many of the Aegean islands and the monasteries on Mount Athos, which during Byzantine times were closely connected with the political center of Constantinople.¹⁰ However, we cannot depart entirely from the logic of human thought and intention, nor avoid the need to examine the way in which individuals use symbols.¹¹ The latter acquire archaeological meaning through the standardization of the relationship between form and message, their repeated use in the same context, and the graphic association of the representation with the meaning represented.¹²

⁵ Renfrew 1985, pp. 16ff.; Renfrew and Bahn 1991, p. 359; Bell 1997, pp. 138ff.; Insoll 2004, pp. 147ff.; Kyriakidis 2007b, p. 296.

⁶ For the terms “cult,” “religion,” “ritual,” see Insoll 2005 and Renfrew 2007a.

⁷ Kyriakidis 2007b, p. 301.

⁸ Kristiansen 1984, p. 77; Renfrew 1994, p. 50.

⁹ Cherry 1986.

¹⁰ Koder 1998, p. 50.

¹¹ Daniel and Renfrew 1988, p. 172.

¹² Renfrew 1985, p. 13.

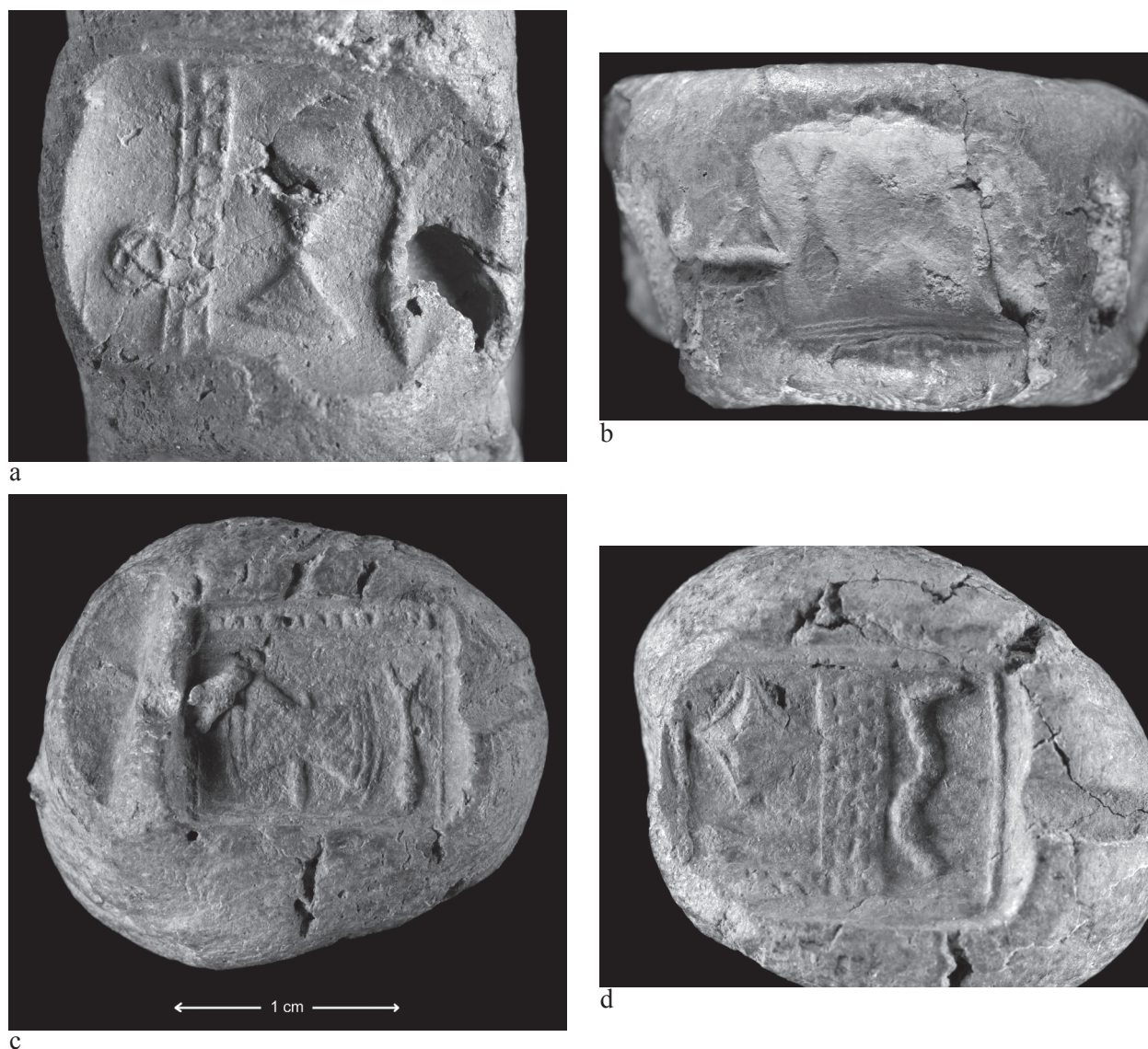


Figure 4.2a–d. The first part of the Libation or ‘Archanes’ Formula on sealings from *Mikro Vouni*.

1. Proto-historic Samothrace and Religious Symbols in Action

The established religious symbolism of the Minoan Libation or ‘Archanes’ formula,¹³ the first part of which occurs in the majority of the archive material that has come to light at *Mikro Vouni* (Fig. 4.2a–d),¹⁴ makes it legitimate to assume that this material is connected at least in part, if not wholly, with a religious (temple)

¹³ Jasing 2009, pp. 153, 185–186. The formula is attested on the Archanes seals (*CHIC*, pp. 226–227, #202; pp. 252–253, ## 251, 252) dated, at the latest, to MMIA. This formula is the only combination of two groups of signs to appear on the same seal and it is perhaps an inheritance of a preceding period. The whole formula appears on #202 (*CHIC*, pp. 226–227) and on #313 (*CHIC*, pp. 288–289), while its first part appears also on #201 (*CHIC*, pp. 224–225). Perhaps the hieroglyphic seals from which the impressions bearing the first part of the formula derive, were used in particular occasions. The ‘Archanes’ formula was used also in Linear A ‘libation tables’ and its survival here was explained by the suggested interpretation of the group double axe – cuttlefish as representing a “temple” bureaucratic administration. It’s not a coincidence that both the first part of the ‘Archanes’ formula with the symbols of the spiral and the cross which characterize the documents from *Mikro Vouni*, were also found on roundels from the Neopalatial Temple Repositories of Knossos.

¹⁴ The roundels, typical documents of the Linear A administration, SA WC 1 (*CMS V*, Suppl. 1B, p. 311, no. 326; *CHIC*, pp. 192–193: #135), SA WC 2 (*CMS V*, Suppl. 1B, p. 310, no. 325; *CHIC*, pp. 192–193: #136) and the noduli SA WE 1 (*CMS V*, Suppl. 1B, pp. 312–313, no. 327; *CHIC*, p. 192: #137), SA WE 2 (*CMS V*, Suppl. 3, 2, pp. 510–511, no. 343). For the latter, see Del Frio 2008 p. 201; Jasing 2009, pp. 71, 109f.

institution or foundation, operating even before the “true” palaces.¹⁵ Although the precise operational character of the Minoan presence on Samothrace and in the northeastern Aegean escapes us at present, on account of the lack of adequate archaeological evidence, the documents themselves certainly allow us to consider that it had palace origins, most probably originating from central Crete and possibly from Knossos itself, although we are not in a position to state with any certainty the extent to which independent *entrepreneurs* also participated in it. In the Near East, a class of merchants, who are frequently connected with the palace or temple, is not unknown.¹⁶

In any case, the very early presence of Linear A and a disk-shaped lead balance weight of the proposed Aegean/Minoan system, shows the economic orientation of the enterprise, which could have taken the form of major overseas voyages like the one probably depicted in the contemporary Miniature Frieze of Room 5 of the West House at Akrotiri, especially in its north and south sections.¹⁷ The Miniature Frieze has been variously interpreted as a “symbolic narrative” of Aegean conditions in general and the Minoan colonizing ventures in particular, as a confederation under Minoan leadership, or as the representation of a specific ceremonial annual occasion inaugurating the new sailing season and connected with the economic interests of the community.¹⁸ The narrative begins with the departure(?) of an Aegean fleet from an Aegean town (I, West Frieze), and continues with the fleet’s presence in the environs of a coastal nucleated town with a spacious natural harbor and a pastoral countryside (II, North Frieze). After a victory in a naval-battle over a local(?) fleet, two crew-groups from the Aegean-Minoan fleet have landed. The first, consisting of the fleet’s officers appears in the “Meeting on the Hill,” which has been interpreted by most scholars as a ceremonial-ritual event in a setting reminiscent of Minoan peak sanctuaries.¹⁹ The appearance of the two central figures probably is indicative of the presence of two political authorities on board (secular and religious?).²⁰ The second fully armed group marches towards the town. Since most of the ships are merchant or cargo, we may suspect that the character of the visit was mainly commercial/entrepreneurial. In the south section of the frieze, probably only the Theran part of the fleet formed by war-transport ships is depicted festively sailing homeward after a long and dangerous expedition.

A little earlier than the date of the paintings, in Crete, we observe a sudden proliferation of peak sanctuaries; this phenomenon is one of the most striking features of the Old Palace period and reflects a deliberate attempt by the political and economic elite of the Minoan polities to establish their power through public rituals,²¹ which revolve around non-verifiable sacred intentions.²² Their dispersal on or near peaks of mountains and hills was not confined to Crete but also extended to the Aegean. Religious ideology forms an integral component of the economy, providing a means by which the Minoan ruling class consolidated its wealth and power and organized its economic strategy.

A corresponding example from the area of the eastern Mediterranean is the religious domination of the output and distribution of Cypriot copper in the 2nd millennium B.C., the management of which was associated with a male protective deity and a female fertility deity.²³ The earthly institution-foundation that practiced this management in the name of the gods, to whom it dedicated the end product as a debt, either gave the copper to craftsmen or used it for domestic and foreign trade, to be exchanged with other products. In both the above cases of the Minoan peak sanctuaries and the Cypriot copper trade, the associated symbolism makes the trade monopoly obvious and acceptable. The dispersal of the symbolic material is the result of the wider significance of the exchange that takes the form of information flow.²⁴ Isolated sanctuaries without cities, and even those far from settlements, are not unknown in the area of the eastern Mediterranean, and their existence is accounted for by the need of trade enterprises for security and protection, “where exchange

¹⁵ Pötscher 1990, pp. 27ff.; Matsas 1991, p. 174; Matsas 1995, p. 238; Weingarten 1995, pp. 303–304 n. 23.

¹⁶ Postgate 1992, pp. 197ff., 219ff.

¹⁷ Doumas 1992, pp. 30f., 47ff.; Shaw 2000, pp. 270ff.; Televantou 1994, p. 338.

¹⁸ Immerwahr 1977, p. 183 (symbolic narrative); Marinatos 2000, p. 907 (confederation); Morgan 1983, p. 99; Morgan 1988, p. 165 (ceremonial occasion).

¹⁹ Iakovides 1977, p. 58; Negbi 1978, pp. 648f.; Morgan 1988, pp. 156f.; Televantou 1994, p. 330.

²⁰ Televantou 1994, p. 329.

²¹ Kyriakidis 2007a, pp. 10–15.

²² Cherry 1986, pp. 29–32.

²³ Knapp 1986, pp. 57–73.

²⁴ Renfrew 1984, p. 130.

of goods can be carried on under the protection of divine powers.”²⁵ It may be supposed that, at the time of the internationalization of the trade networks in the area of the eastern Mediterranean, a sanctuary of this kind was created on Samothrace in the harbor on the northwest coast that faces the Thracian littoral and is connected with the economic interest of this area in the distribution of goods, especially metals.²⁶

2. The Late Classical–Early Hellenistic Macedonian Royal Patronage of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and its Subsequent Echo

The Mysteries of Samothrace enjoyed a great reputation throughout Greek and Roman Antiquity and, thanks mainly to the literary tradition, succeeded over the centuries to retain a fascination that reached its culmination in the age of Romanticism. The identity and nature of the gods of Samothrace, who had either no names or names that were concealed from the public, remains enigmatic. The ancient authors²⁷ often refer to them by the name *Kab(e)iroi* – a term that is not attested in inscriptions from Samothrace itself, where they are called simply Gods, or Great Gods.²⁸ The *Kab(e)iroi* were deities foreign to the Greek pantheon; although the origin and meaning of their name are vague, its root has been associated with the Semitic word *kabir* “great,” while Herodotus speaks of Egyptian *Kab(e)iroi*. The allure of secrecy, the pre-Greek (probably oriental) wisdom, and the symbolic dimension of the *Kab(e)iroi* are the parameters that made them popular. Their most important characteristics were their chthonic origins, their duality (although their number fluctuates between two and ten), their ithyphallic nature, and their connection with the sea.²⁹ This last quality has reference to the association between a “maritime-nautical” ideology and social power that is attested already in the Early Bronze Age Aegean by references to symbols of the sea and seafaring. It may perhaps be connected with the early iconography of Astarte in the Eastern Mediterranean.³⁰ Emphasis has been placed on the view of the journey as an initiation rite that secures the successful continuation of the voyage in myth (for example, the Argonauts) and also secures the protection of initiates from dangers at sea.³¹

Although the excavation of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods is well advanced, it does not seem to have provided satisfactory answers to the several questions posed by the paltry evidence preserved in the literary tradition; nor has it been able, so far, to confirm this evidence.³² Many of the interpretations of Karl and Phyllis Lehmann, whose names are closely connected with the first period of the investigation of the Sanctuary by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, have been questioned, contested or overturned.³³ Although Samothracian mythology was already contained in the Hesiodic *Catalogues* of about the middle of the 6th century B.C., archaeological excavation in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods has not located any structures that are certainly earlier than the end of the 5th century.³⁴ The earliest monumental marble building activity in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. is connected with the Macedonian royal court and was quite possibly inaugurated by Philip II, who, while consolidating his rule in Greece through Delphi and giving it a more palpable form with the dedication of the Philippeion at Olympia, did his best to ensure that the sanctuary

²⁵ Kochavi 1992, p. 9.

²⁶ Matsas 1995, p. 239.

²⁷ Burkert 2002, p. 45.

²⁸ *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 820–828, s.v. *Megaloi Theoi* (D. Vollkommer-Glückler). Presumably, the title *Kab(e)iroi* was informal and that of Great Gods was the official one (cf. Dimitrova 2008, p. 87).

²⁹ Collini 1990, pp. 264–271; *Samothrace* 1, p. 63, no. 140; p. 86, no. 147 (ithyphallic nature); *Samothrace* 1, p. 73, no. 158; p. 82, no. 179; p. 98, no. 217, etc (connection with the sea). For their connection with metallurgy, see Blakely 2006, pp. 13–31.

³⁰ For connections with Astarte, see Hemberg 1950, pp. 85, 102; Matsas 1991, pp. 172f.; *Samothrace* 1, p. 110, nos. 235–236. Broodbank 2000, pp. 249ff.

³¹ Ruiz-Gálvez Priego 2000; Gianfrotta and Tchernia 1997. For the voyage of the Argonauts, see *Samothrace* 1, pp. 104–108: 229a–h. About the association of initiation at Samothrace with a happy afterlife see Dimitrova 2008, pp. 89–90. Cf. Burkert 1987, pp. 21–29.

³² Burkert 1993. For literary sources, see *Samothrace* 1.

³³ Compare, for example the fifth and sixth editions of the *Guide*: Lehmann 1983, pp. 63ff. and Lehmann 1998, pp. 73ff. See also Burkert 1993; Clinton 2003.

³⁴ Possibly there was an archaic Doric predecessor to the Hall of Choral Dancers evidenced by a fragment of a tufa geison now in Vienna: Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 15, 22–24, pl. VIII, figs I–II; *Samothrace* 3,II, pp. 52–53, fig. 364; *Samothrace* 5, pp. 17–19, fig. 17.



Figure 4.3. The frieze from the Hall of Choral Dancers (detail).

of Samothrace was looked upon as Macedonian. Plutarch states that Philip II was initiated at the Sanctuary during his youth, and it was here that he met and fell in love with Olympias, an historical(?) event compared by some scholars with the mythical marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia.³⁵ The wedding dance on the frieze (Fig. 4.3) of the building known until 1998 as the Temenos and now as the Hall of Choral Dancers, (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 17), may allude to this mythical marriage, which was performed in the Sanctuary as a sacred drama during festivals.³⁶ The building on which it appears, the largest and earliest marble structure in the Sanctuary, may have been the Telesterion.³⁷ Whereas at Eleusis, the initiates sought Persephone by torchlight, at Samothrace, Harmonia played the role of Kore in a comparable setting.³⁸ P. W. Lehmann has suggested that the building was dedicated ca. 340 B.C. by Philip II to commemorate his initiation and his meeting with and marriage to Olympias.³⁹ Philip was criticized by his son, Alexander, for devoting too much time to the mysteries of Samothrace.⁴⁰ The same scholar recognizes Alexander in a profile head from a coffered ceiling of the prostoon of the Hall of Choral Dancers, where it is incorporated into a decorative program that appears to have included divine and mythological figures and heroes-initiates.⁴¹ Philip and Alexander donated to the Sanctuary a *hiera chora* on the Thracian coast, which was considered a possession of the Samothracian Gods.⁴² This donation and other dedications that reflect a great investment of wealth and resources in the Sanctuary itself emphasize the wish of the Macedonian dynasty to develop the Sanctuary of the Great Gods as a religious center. The Hall of Choral Dancers was the first in an important sequence of buildings dedicated by benefactors who either belonged to the royal family or came from its close circle.

The so-called Altar Court (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 14), despite the inability of the excavator to identify its donor securely, is testimony to lavish funding by one of the leading figures of the time. K. Lehmann dates the building to 340–330 B.C., but he is certainly incorrect in identifying the donor as Arrhidaios, son of Philip II by his first marriage, who in Lehmann's restoration of the inscription bears the title "*Koies* of the Macedonians."⁴³ Arrhidaios is known to have followed Alexander on his campaign in Asia, on which he served as "consort of sacred and religious rites" (Curtius Rufus 10.7.72: *sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors*) responsible for the organization of sacrifices for the purification of the Macedonian army. *Koies* is the priest of the *Kab(e)iroi*, who purifies murderers and this title was perhaps appropriate for the properties of an official who purifies someone

³⁵ *Samothrace* 1, p. 89, nos. 193, 194 (Philip and Olympias); *Samothrace* 1, p. 65, no. 142 (marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia); P. W. Lehmann in *Samothrace* 5, p. 273 n. 23.

³⁶ Deshours 2006, pp. 134–135. For a different view, see Marconi in this volume.

³⁷ Clinton 2003. For a different proposal, see Marconi, this volume.

³⁸ *Samothrace* 1, p. 35, no. 75.

³⁹ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 147, 273.

⁴⁰ *Samothrace* 1, p. 89, no. 195.

⁴¹ *Samothrace* 5, p. 274.

⁴² McCredie 1968, p. 220; Cole 1984, p. 17. The kings may have been Philip II and Alexander III or Philip III and Alexander IV.

⁴³ *Samothrace* 4,II, p. 118.

who has deliberately or accidentally killed someone, either in a homicide or during warfare.⁴⁴ However, the problem with the spelling of Arrhidaios excludes this possibility here. P. Fraser identifies its dedicator with one Adaios; various eminent Macedonians bore this name in the late 4th century B.C. S. Psoma, on the basis of numismatic, literary, and epigraphic evidence, recently proposed the identification of this Adaios with a Macedonian, most probably appointed general of Thrace by Antiochos II around 253 B.C., and later executed by Ptolemy, an illegitimate son of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, after the naval battle of Andros in 245 and before 243, the date of the arrival of the Ptolemies in Thrace.⁴⁵ This proposal clearly calls for a re-examination of the date of the building on architectural and stratigraphic grounds.⁴⁶

Even if we exclude him as the donor of the Altar Court, it remains a fact that the mentally limited Arrhidaios, Philip III after his ascent to the throne,⁴⁷ was closely connected with the Sanctuary, as is evident from his dedication with his co-ruler Alexander IV of a Doric building near the entrance to the Sanctuary (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 24).⁴⁸ Although we may attribute to Arrhidaios the execution of a design to extend the Sanctuary, we cannot give him full credit for the strategy to legitimize Macedonian military rule by creating a religious center in the northern Aegean to rival those at Olympia, Delphi and Delos.⁴⁹ Instead, as B. D. Wescoat argues, the minders of Arrhidaios and his co-ruler Alexander IV, Craterus, Antipater and Polyperchon as *epimeletai tes basileias* all had strong reasons to do so in an attempt to secure the legitimacy of Alexander's natural successors to the throne. The emulation of "Athenian forms in Attic material" in the Pentelic façade with its prominently displayed dedicatory inscription of the joint Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, probably displays the Macedonian claims to the Athenian legacy but also makes a deliberate choice to integrate Macedonians into the Greek heartland. The latter is evident in the Peloponnesian connection of the Doric style of the building, as the legendary roots of its donors were in the Peloponnese.⁵⁰

P. W. Lehmann suggested that Arrhidaios, (whom she assumed to be the dedicator of the Altar Court) also provided funds for the construction of the "Hieron" (work on which began, according to her, in 325 B.C.) and that his death led to the interruption of work on this large and more complex enterprise (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 15).⁵¹ If the "Hieron" was a gift by Arrhidaios to the Sanctuary, the death of the royal donor in 316 B.C. would explain the interruption of work on the building. If, however, the connection between Arrhidaios and the Altar Court is broken, we are free to look for different explanations in the building history of the "Hieron."

The famous Rotunda, the largest round building known from Greek antiquity, was dedicated by Queen Arsinoe II, an intelligent and tempestuous Macedonian princess. Although the date of the dedication is disputed, the most likely time of her donation is after her marriage to her full brother Ptolemy II in 274 B.C. Her motives for the dedication may have been twofold, both in gratitude for having received asylum after fleeing Ptolemy Keraunos, and in order to obtain a certificate of piety or an indirect approval of her incestuous marriage, which provoked revulsion among Greeks, although it may have been more acceptable to the Egyptian population.⁵² Arsinoe's irresistible personality led to her official deification during her lifetime, being the first "western" queen to enjoy such honors. Alive, Arsinoe was the subject of private dedications not only in Egypt but in many ports of the Mediterranean. There was a city cult and worship of her in private sacrifice as the Marine Aphrodite. When she died, she became the only ruler who was appealed to by people as protector of seamen, the main characteristic of the Great Gods.

Our last "problem" from the Samothracian sanctuary will be the famous statue of Nike, originally made from several pieces assembled in the complicated technical procedure of piecing widely used in the Hellenistic period in the sculpture workshops of Asia Minor, the Dodecanese, and the Cyclades, where its sculptor certainly

⁴⁴ *Samothrace* 1, p. 111, no. 239.

⁴⁵ *Samothrace* 2,I p. 45; Psomá et al. 2008, pp. 235–236.

⁴⁶ *Samothrace* 4,II, pp. 76, 78, 104ff., 116f.

⁴⁷ However, Habicht (1973, pp. 371–372) believes that Philip was capable.

⁴⁸ For the succession, see Will 1984, p. 26. For the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, see McCredie 1968, p. 222 and McCredie 1979, p. 8; Wescoat 2003 and 2006.

⁴⁹ Contra Cole 1984, p. 20.

⁵⁰ Wescoat 2003, pp. 114–116.

⁵¹ *Samothrace* 3, II p. 74.

⁵² Turner 1984, p. 136; Ager 2003, p. 39. For the later date of the Rotunda of Arsinoe during her marriage to her brother Ptolemy II, see G. Roux in *Samothrace* 7, p. 238; for the earlier date, while she was married to Lysimachos, see *Samothrace* 10, pp. 227–233.

originated from.⁵³ The statue stood inside the so-called Nike Monument, especially visible and accessible from the Stoa (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 11) to the northwest and from the Theater, which lies almost directly below to the northeast (Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 13). In the past Nike has been connected with Rhodes, which in 190 B.C., in alliance with Rome, won a decisive naval battle over Antiochos the Great off Myonessos. The swiftness and manoeuvrability of Rhodian warships was the most important factor in this victory, which transformed the Aegean into an essentially Roman “lake.” In this interpretation, Rhodes, which already had been extending its sphere of influence into the northern Aegean, celebrated her contribution and her naval hegemony in the region with an impressive dedication at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. However, the presumably Rhodian stone of the prow of the Nike does not identify the statue as Rhodian, nor does it secure its date.⁵⁴ The Nike, which stylistically is isolated because possible comparisons are either lost or too fragmentary to be better known, has also been dated later than the Pergamon Altar (180–160 B.C.) and attributed to Pergamon, commemorating the Attalid fleet’s action in 168 in preventing Perseus’ escape from Samothrace.⁵⁵ The Antigonids and the Ptolemies, both of whom left conspicuous traces of their benefactions to the Sanctuary, mainly patronized Samothrace. The date of the Nike (just before or just after the Pergamon Gigantomachy) seems incompatible with a Ptolemaic dedication, while the case of the Attalids as possible sponsors finds little support because there are no traces of their presence on the island. Philip V is perhaps a better candidate, since he assumed control of the Ptolemaic territories in Thrace ca. 202–199, and a base for a monumental bronze statue of him has been found in the sanctuary.⁵⁶ However, at this point, it seems impossible to pinpoint the actual donor of the monument, although the Rhodians now seem the less probable of the suggested donors.⁵⁷

The increasing influence of the international Samothracian sanctuary coincides with the continuous Macedonian royal patronage inaugurated in the second half of the 4th century by Philip II, who started the Sanctuary’s Macedonian transformation. Besides the obvious political scope of this investment of wealth, which takes shape in a great project of monumental building, there was also a personal touch and psychological motivation connected both with the physical stay of the royal family’s members on the island and the pan-Hellenic as well as the global dimension of the Macedonian state. Both aspects are very eloquently summarized by the problems posed concerning the identification of the donor and the occasion for the donation of the Nike statue.

3. Religion and Landed Property on Samothrace in Modern Times

The particular economic and demographic growth that Samothrace experienced at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries was connected with the transfer of ownership of the property of the two debt-ridden small monasteries on the island, Jesus Christ (*Christos*) in the north and Saint Athanasios (*Ayios Athanasios*) in the southwest, to the convent of Iviron on Mt Athos as perpetual dependencies (l. 23, «μετόχια παντοτινά»). According to the Consecration Agreement of 1776, a copy of which is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Samothrace,⁵⁸ these monasteries, “*which, having been neglected in the past* (l. 5, «ἅτινα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις ἀμεληθέντα, ...), ..., *were heavily in debt* (l. 6, ... *χρεὶ ὑπέπεσον βαρυτάτω, ...), ..., and this situation was worsened by the unfortunate conjunction of circumstances* (l. 7, προσθήκη *χρέους οὐ μείωσιν διὰ τὴν καιρικὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, ...); ..., [they] were in danger of being deserted* (l. 8–9, ...) μικροῦ δεῖν ἐρείπια γενέσθαι ἐπι[κ]ινδύνευον» (Fig. 4.4).⁵⁹ The “unfortunate conjunction of circumstances” («καιρικὴ ἀνωμαλία») that was linked to the bad state of these small monasteries obviously referred to the tribulations of the island after the 16th century and in particular to the Russo-Turkish war of 1768–74.⁶⁰ Their superintendence was undertaken by the priest-monk Dionysios, who “agreed to guarantee all the debts of the small monasteries as well as their economic management and safekeeping” («ἔνευσε καταδέξασθαι πάντα τὰ

⁵³ Hamiaux 2007, p. 40.

⁵⁴ Mark 1998, p. 158.

⁵⁵ Carpenter 1960, pp. 201ff.

⁵⁶ For the Monument of Philip V, see McCredie 1979, p. 16, pl. 8a; Lehmann 1998, p. 163, fig. 80; Wescoat, this volume, p. 7, Fig. 3.5.

⁵⁷ Ridgway 2000, p. 156. For another interpretation of the Victory of Samothrace, see Palagia, this volume.

⁵⁸ Paper, 0,453X0,625 m, probably coming from the Archives of the convent of Iviron; it was donated in 1968 by K. X. Rigopoulos, President of the Community of Samothrace; Papathanasiou 2002, pp. 120ff.

⁵⁹ This text follows Papathanasiou’s transcription (Papathanasiou 2002, pp. 120f.); See also Maltezou 2005, pp. 516ff.

⁶⁰ Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, p. 24; Papathanasiou 2002, p. 122.

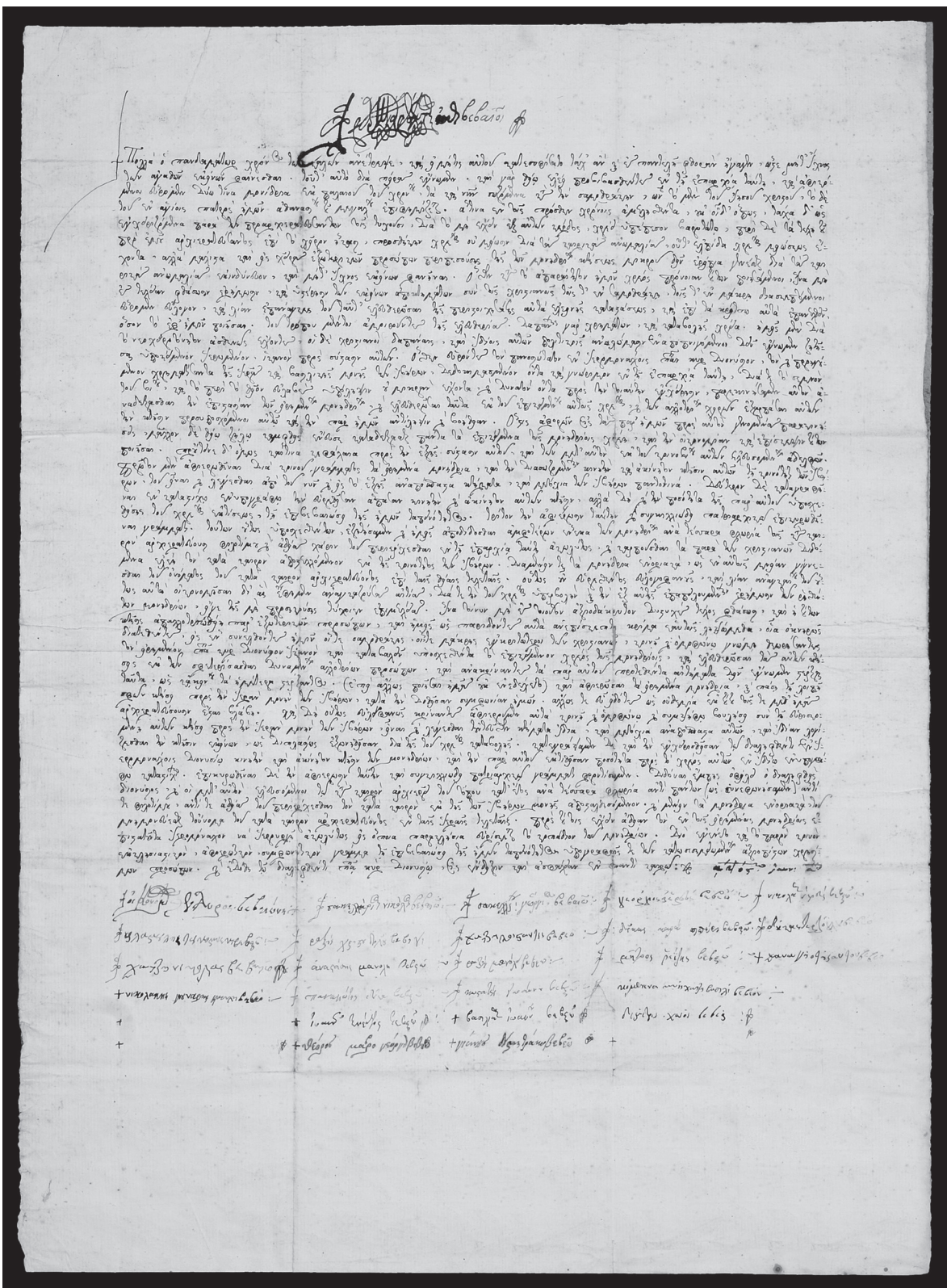


Figure 4.4. Document of the consecration agreement (1776) of the Samothracian monasteries to the convent of Iviron.

ἐπικείμενα τοῖς μονυδρίοις χρέη, καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν τούτων²¹ ποιῆσαι»), on three conditions: 1) the consecration of the small monasteries and their surviving movable and immovable possessions to the convent of Iviron; 2) the registration of all their surviving movable and immovable possessions, and also the size of their debt; and 3) the ratification of the consecration by a patriarchal sigil. After, “inasmuch as there were assembled” (l. 33, «εἰς ἓν συνελθόντες») together with the bishop of Maroneia, Neophytos, “all those of the Christians of Samothrace and Makri⁶¹ that had the greatest standing, by common unanimous consent” («οὔτε σαμοθράκης, οὔτε μάκρης ἐγκριτώτεροι τῶν χριστιανῶν, κοινῇ κ(αὶ) ὁμοφώνῳ γνώμῃ») deemed Dionysios competent “to defray the debt that was weighing on the small monasteries and to free their ownership from the foreign persons who could illegally appropriate it” («καταβαλεῖν τὸ ἐπικείμενον χρέος τοῖς μονηδρίοις, καὶ ἐλευθερώσαι τὰς αὐτῶν κτή- /³⁵σεις ἐκ τῶν σφετερίσασθαι δυναμένων ἀλλοτριῶν προσώπων»), and they consecrated “these small monasteries and their ownership with a common, unanimous vote to the Holy Convent of Iviron, of which they shall constitute an integral possession now and hereafter” («αὐτὰ κοινῇ κ(αὶ) ὁμοφώνῳ κ(αὶ) συμφήῳ βουλήσει σὺν τῇ εὐρισκο- /³⁹μένῃ αὐτῶν κτήσει πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν μονὴν τῶν ἱβήρων, εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι τούντεῦθεν κτήματα ἴδια, καὶ μετόχια ἀναπόσπαστα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἰδίαν λογί- /⁴⁰ζεσθαι τὴν κτήσιν ἐκείνων»). In accordance with Dionysios’s second condition, “they recorded in a special, signed register the movable and immovable possessions, which the priest-monk Dionysios agreed to administer, and also the level of their debt, in accordance with the accounting that he presented” («τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν τῷ διαληφθέντι ἐν ἱ- /⁴¹ερομονάχοις Διονυσίῳ κινήτην καὶ ἀκίνητον κτήσιν τῶν μονηδρίων, καὶ τὴν παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐκτιθεῖσαν ποσότητα πρὸς τὸ χρέος αὐτῶν ἐν ἰδίῳ ἐνυπογρά- /⁴²φῳ καταστήξω»). They would further take care of the fulfillment of the third condition, namely “that this consecration should be ratified by a patriarchal sigillion-letter” («ἐπικυρωθῆναι δὲ τὴν ἀφιέρωσιν ταύτην καὶ συγκιλιώδει πατριαρχικῷ γράμματι»).

The monastery of *Christos*, whose catholicon dates to the first half of the 14th century and which had monks until at least the year 1756, seems to have been abandoned and devastated.⁶² The catholicon of the monastery of *Ayios Athanasios*, which is in the predominantly agricultural area of Samothrace, like the site at *Mikro Vouni* (Fig. 4.1), is dated to the period 1821–1837, but three Middle Byzantine marble sections of the iconostasis may indicate a Middle Byzantine phase.⁶³ In addition to the catholicon, the monastery had a small dormitory for the monks, a cistern, two threshing floors and a storehouse. The latter three features emphasize the agricultural character of the dependency (*metochi*), which at the beginning of the 20th century owned about three-fifths of the island.⁶⁴ These estates, which were huge given the size of Samothrace, came from donations by the inhabitants to *Ayios Athanasios* and from the agricultural and stockbreeding activities.⁶⁵ *Ayios Athanasios* was considered especially important by the Samothracians as the possessor of indisputable miraculous powers and as a healer chiefly of mental illnesses. His methods of healing mental diseases were singular. The patients were tied to the cypress tree in the church courtyard or to its door, where they were left for one night.⁶⁶ *Ayios Athanasios* was also the patron saint of stockbreeders (“*kechayiades*”).

In 1965, the landed property of the dependency (*metochi*), which was purchased at that time by the Community of Samothrace for the sum of 3,700,000 drachmas,⁶⁷ comprised 2,384,430.7 acres, which were divided between forest and scrubland, olive cultivation, uncultivated land, fields, beaches, fallow grassland, gullies, gardens and meadows.⁶⁸ *Metochia* with large landed properties were evidence of the close links between Mt Athos and many of the islands in the northern Aegean, where the Athonite monasteries were the largest landowners. In addition to Samothrace, there is mention of Athonite dependencies on the Diadromoi islands (Alonnesos), Gymnopelagision (Kyra Panagia), Skantzoura,⁶⁹ Ayios Efstratios, Imbros, Thasos, Lemnos, Skyros, and Tenedos.⁷⁰ On these northern Aegean islands the situation continued as it had existed in

⁶¹ The coastal village of Makri lies on the mainland opposite Samothrace, 12 km west of Alexandroupolis; the site was occupied since the Middle Neolithic (ca. 5500 B.C.).

⁶² Conze 1860, pp. 51, 62; Matsas and Bakirtzis 2001, pp. 89–91.

⁶³ Papathanasiou 1999, p. 82; Papathanasiou 2002, p. 117.

⁶⁴ Vlachos 1903, p. 206.

⁶⁵ The livestock capital of the dependency comprised 4,000 sheep and goats.

⁶⁶ Papathanasiou 2002, p. 114 n. 10, and Maltezou 2005, p. 510.

⁶⁷ \$123,333.33.

⁶⁸ Chatzikephalas 1965.

⁶⁹ Koder and Hill 1976, pp. 147, 168 and 256.

⁷⁰ Koder 1998, pp. 113 A. 19 and 24, 114 A. 28, 115 A. 30, 165 and 289.

the period of the Byzantine Empire; in other words, the monasteries of Mt Athos, through their dependencies, constituted a real ecclesiastical power, operating above the formal administrative and normative jurisdiction of the bishops (in the case of Samothrace, the bishop of Maroneia).⁷¹

To return to the Document of Consecration: after promising to comply with Dionysios's terms, the bishop of Maroneia, Neophytos, requested that "four florin⁷² for each of the two small monasteries be given to the current bishop" («ἀποδίδοσθαι ἀμφοτέρων ἕνεκα τῶν μονηδρίων ἀνὰ τέσσαρα φλωρία τοῖς κατὰ και-²⁷ρὸν ἀρχιερατεύουσιν»). This sum would constitute the recompense "for everything (as we agreed) and for a donation and for giving the, on each occasion, delegate of the convent of Iviron the permission to visit the *metochia*" («ἀντὶ πάντων [ὡς συνεφωνήσαμεν] ἀντὶ τε ⁴⁴φιλοτίμου, ἀντὶ τε ἀδείας τοῦ περιέρχεσθαι τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἱβήρων μονῆς ἀποσταλθισόμενον»), which should reap the fruits of "the aid of the Christians" («τὰ παρὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν διδόμενα ἐλέη», l. 27–8). The demand of the bishop was considered a formality; however, it indicated "that the small monasteries should remain parochial and that every bishop should be commemorated in the sacred rites" («κ(αὶ) μένειν τὰ μονήδρια ἐνοριακά, τοῦ⁴⁵ μνημονεύεσθαι τοῦνομα τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρχιερατεύοντος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τελεταῖς»), which were included in the terms of the consecration. The latter concluded with the granting of permission each time to "the priest-monk in charge of officiating without hindrance at whichever country chapel where the flocks of the small monasteries were grazing" («ἐ-⁴⁶πιστατοῦντα ἱερομόναχον νὰ ἱεουργῇ ἀκωλύτως εἰς ὅποια παρακλήσια εὐρίσκετο τὸ κοπάδιον τῶν μονηδρίων»),⁷³ thus affording a profit even beyond the land of the dependencies.

As another document, a copy of which is preserved at the Archaeological Museum of Samothrace,⁷⁴ testifies, immediately after Dionysios's death in 1809, a synodic "terrible" penance was laid on "certain of the inhabitants of Samothrace, who, although they owed Dionysios various sums of money, as was shown by documents and their own signed acknowledgements, tried to evade their debts and did not repay them" (Fig. 4.5). It was also laid "on others who voluntarily or involuntarily exhibited the same behavior and, since there were no evidential documents, concealed and did not acknowledge their debts" («τινὲς τῶν κατοίκων τῆς νήσου ταύτης Σαμοθράκης χρεωστοῦντες ἐκείνῳ χρημάτων ποσότητος δι' ἐγ-⁷γράφων, καὶ ἐνυπογράφων αὐτῶν ὁμολογιῶν διαστρέφουσι, καὶ δυστροποῦσι περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι τῆς αὐτῆς⁸ γνώμης ἐχόμενοι, καίτοι σφάλλοντες ἐκ διανοίας, καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἀφορμῆς μὴ προκειμένων ὅμως εἰς μέσον τῶν ἐγγράφων ἀ-⁹ποδεικτικοῦ κρύπτουσι, καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ χρέος αὐτῶν», l. 7–10).⁷⁵ If these persons "take no heed for the immediate and full return of the just demands of the monastery, but having misrepresented disobey and misappropriate these sums, being also profiteers and sacrilegious, and also all those who know the debtors of such kind and their avowals, both their recent and their earlier ones, if they do not recognize them with courage and frankness and testify concerning them, and those who withhold in any manner small or large sums from the monastery, and do not disclose with clear awareness all the truth concerning the restoration of the monastic possessions as they were, but either display a biased disposition or, because they

⁷¹ Samothrace was under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Maroneia, Thasos and Samothrace until 1926.

⁷² The Venetian ducat, sequin or *zecchino*, also known as *efenciye* and *flori*, φλωρίον, that appeared in 1284, became the leading European coin in the Levant around 1350 and the most important foreign gold coin in Ottoman lands during the 15th and 16th centuries. The first Ottoman gold coin called *sultani* or *hasene-i sultaniye* began to be minted in 1477–78 and adopted the standards of the Venetian ducat. While *sultani* remained fixed and exchanged at par against the ducat for most of the 16th century, the exchange rate between the two coins began to change in favor of the ducat early in the 17th century. The Ottoman gold coins did not have face values until the 19th century. These values, expressed in terms of the silver *akçes*, were determined by the markets (the exchange rate of the Venetian ducat expressed in *akçes* during the period 1584–1731 was between 65 and 400). The value of these gold coins was too large for the vast majority of the people. For example, the daily wage of an unskilled construction worker in Istanbul for most of the 16th century was five to six *akçes*, or one tenth of a gold coin. Following the favorable conditions of the 18th century, a new monetary unit emerged in the Balkans and Anatolia with the establishment of *kuruş* as the leading unit of account and means of exchange (one Ottoman *kuruş* = 40 paras = 120 *akçes*). Concerning gold coins, the *sultani* was discontinued late in the 17th century and in its place a number of new gold coins called *tuğralı*, *cedid Istanbul*, *zincirli*, *findık* and *zer-i mahbub* were initiated between 1697 and 1728. All but the last of these started close to the standards of the ducat, which reasserted itself in the 18th century as the leading coin in international payments around the eastern Mediterranean. During the reign of Abdulhamid I (1774–89), the weight of the *kuruş* declined but its exchange rate against the ducat remained basically unchanged (in 1774 one ducat was 4 *kuruşes* 15 *akçes* and in 1780 one ducat was 4 *kuruşes* 70 *akçes*). See Pamuk 2004.

⁷³ Papathanasiou 2002, p. 123.

⁷⁴ Paper 0,343X0,468 m, probably coming from the Archives of the convent of Iviron; it was also donated in 1968 by K. X. Rigopoulos.

⁷⁵ Maltezou 2005, pp. 519–520.

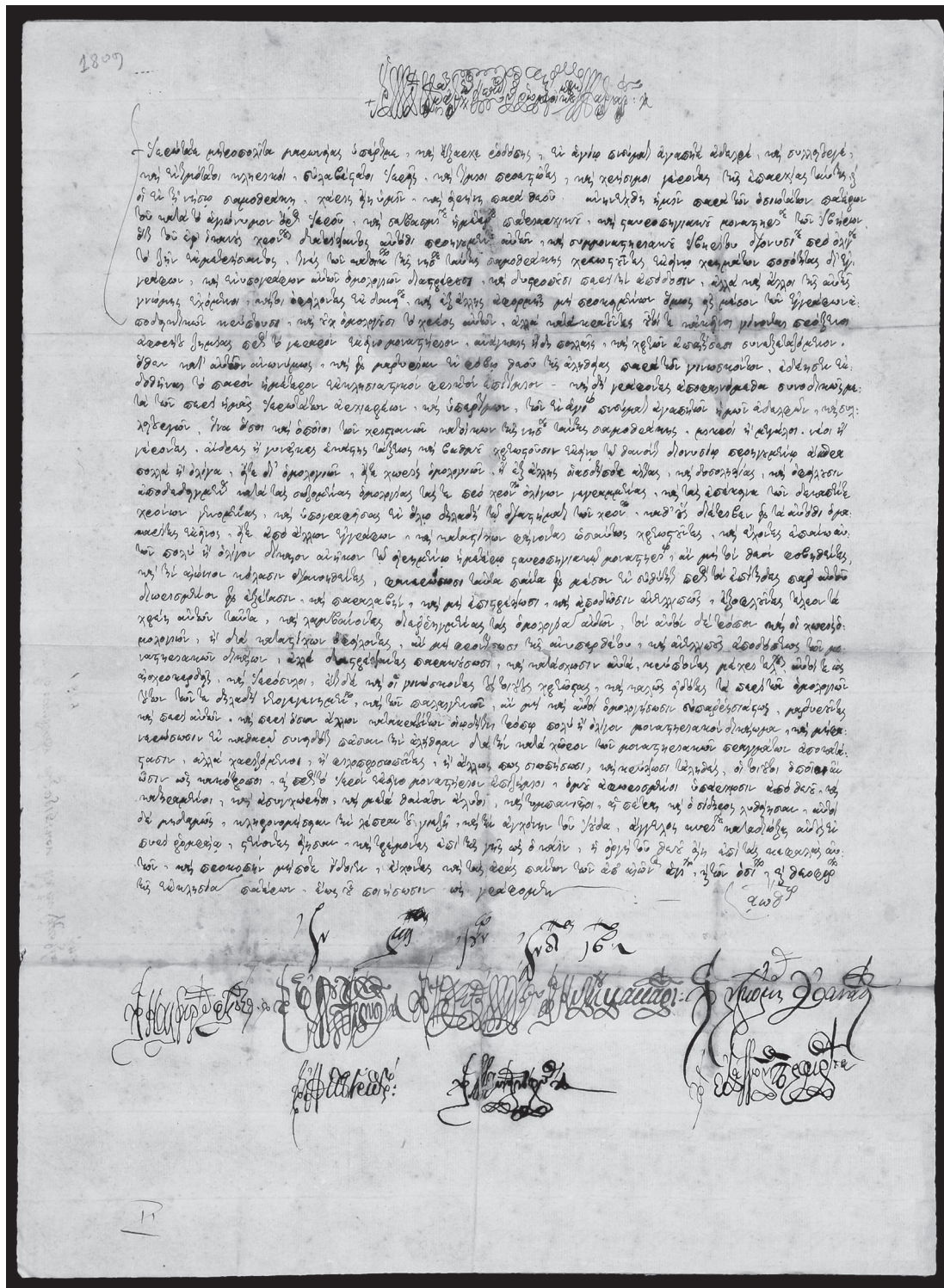


Figure 4.5. Synodic penances (1809, Patriarch Ieremias IV).

have friendly relations among themselves, or for any other reason, remain silent and conceal the truth, these people whoever they may be, being wicked and damaging to the monastery, are also excommunicated by God and are accursed and unforgivable, and after their deaths they shall meet with no grief and their bodies shall swell up like drums and shall never disintegrate, even although stones and iron disintegrate, and they shall inherit the leprosy of Gehazi and the gallows of Judas, and the angel of the Lord shall pursue them with a fiery sword, they shall groan and tremble for as long as they live, like Cain, and the wrath of God shall descend

on them and they shall never know prosperity, since they also carry the curses of all the saints throughout the centuries and the blessed and god-bearing fathers of the church, until they act in accordance with what we set down” («φροντίσωσι τῆς ἀνυπερθέτου, καὶ ἀνελλιποῦς ἀποδόσεως τῶν μο-/²⁵ναστηριακῶν δικαίων, ἀλλὰ διαστρέψαντες παρακούσωσι, καὶ κατὰσχῶσιν αὐτά, κρύπτοντες μέχρι τέλους, αὐτοὶ τε ὡς/²⁶ αἰσχροκερδεῖς, καὶ ἱερόσυλοι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ γινώσκοντες τοὺς τοιούτους χρεώστας, καὶ καλῶς εἰδόντες τὰ περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν/²⁷ τούτων τῶν τε δηλαδὴ νεογεγεννημένων, καὶ τῶν παλαιγενῶν, ἂν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογήσωσιν εὐπαρρήσιάστως, μαρτυροῦντες/²⁸ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ ὅσων ἄλλων κατακρατοῦντων οἰωδῆτην τρόπον πολὺ ἢ ὀλίγον μοναστηριακὸν δικαίωμα, καὶ μὴ φα-/²⁹νερῶσωσιν ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδῶτι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὴν κατὰ χῶραν τῶν μοναστηριακῶν πραγμάτων ἀποκα-/³⁰τάστασιν, ἀλλὰ χαριζόμενοι, ἢ φιλοπροσωποῦντες, ἢ ἄλλως πως σιωπήσωσι, καὶ κρύψωσι τὰ λήθεις, οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὅποιοι ἂν/³¹ ὦσιν ὡς κακότεροποι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο μοναστήριον ἐπιζήμιοι ὁμοῦ ἀφωρισμένοι ὑπάρχουσιν ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ/³² κατηραμένοι καὶ ἀσυγχώρητοι, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἄλυποι, καὶ τυμπανιαῖοι, αἱ πέτραι καὶ ὁ σίδηρος λυθήτωσαν, αὐτοὶ/³³ μηδαμῶς, κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν λέπραν τοῦ γιεζῆ, καὶ τὴν ἀγχόνην τοῦ ἰούδα, ἄγγελος κυρίου καταδιώξει αὐτοὺς ἐν/³⁴ πυρὶ ρομφαίᾳ, στένοντες εἶησαν, καὶ τρέμοντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ὁ Κάϊν, ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἴη ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐ-/³⁵τῶν, καὶ προκοπὴν μήποτε ἴδοιεν, ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς πάντων τῶν ἀπ’ αἰώνων ἀγίων, καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων/³⁶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πατέρων, ἕως οὗ ποιήσωσιν ὡς γράφομεν/³⁷», l. 25–37).

If in fact the landed property of the dependency (*metochi*) at the middle of the 20th century actually included over three-fifths of the area of the island, it would be most interesting to trace the stages in its upward course and to study the factors that created the preconditions for it. It would be equally interesting to study the downhill course of the size of the landed property of the *metochi* up to 1965. Since no specific study exists on the subject, we must at present confine ourselves to a few observations. It is a fact that an isolated, rigid and insecure island community⁷⁶ like that on Samothrace, where an environment of a pre-capitalist semi-autarchic economy was preserved until relatively recently, increased its dependence on the church and the holy, which was represented on the island by the monastic elite.

However, this interpretation alone is perhaps not sufficient to explain the formation of the modern social and economic structures of the island. Historical circumstances must also have played a very important role, especially the near-total destruction of the island by the Turks in 1821. Is it a coincidence that the catholicon of the monastery of *Ayios Athanasios* was enlarged in the period 1821–37?⁷⁷ Another parameter that should be taken into account is the economic and social change that occurred on the island towards the end of the 19th century, when Samothrace started to move towards a capitalist economy especially in its southeastern part (the region around the villages *Lakkoma* and *Xeropotamo*), with the construction of proto-industrial plants for processing olives and the growth of large estates connected with olive cultivation.⁷⁸ Apart from these developments, the *metochi* retained more conservative economic and technological choices, as it is indicated, for example, by the mechanical equipment of the olive press that it possessed on the northeastern part of the island.⁷⁹

The three paradigms above illustrate one diachronic aspect, religion, of the incorporation of the island into broader systems. They emphasize a cyclical rather than linear nature.⁸⁰ Put in a different way, the degree of the island’s interaction with the outside world was low in paradigms 1 and 3, and high in paradigm 2, according to changing technological, social and political environments.⁸¹ This excursus in proto-history (18th century B.C.), the Late Classical and Hellenistic period (4th–2nd century B.C.) and modern times (18th century A.D. onwards) illustrates both the island’s physical reality and its state of interaction.⁸² Concerning long-term cultural change on this island, the motivating social forces may be described as religious or at least containing a strong religious dimension, tightly connected with the island’s symbolic attraction.⁸³ Samothrace commanded recognition as a very special place with major landscape features (geological construction, mountain range, abundance of

⁷⁶ Faugères and Kolodny 1972, p. 65.

⁷⁷ Papageorgiou 1982, pp. 75–82, 227–37; Vakalopoulos 1990, p. 114.

⁷⁸ Matsas 1999, p. 123.

⁷⁹ Matsas 1999, p. 123.

⁸⁰ Knapp 1992, p. 12.

⁸¹ Braudel 1978, p. 150.

⁸² Malone and Stoddart 2004.

⁸³ Cf. Erdoğan 2005, p. 59.

water supplies, absence of natural harbors, rough sea around it) carrying symbolic implications.⁸⁴ Although definitions of religion vary, the forces underlying its framework of beliefs are transcendental or supernatural, and involve a considerable investment by the institutional expression (palace [?], temple, church) of religion toward symbolic goals, which act to “establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting mood and motivations in men,”⁸⁵ the overtones of which are felt on the island to the present day.

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⁸⁴ Cf. Renfrew 2007b, pp. 438–439.

⁸⁵ Geertz 1966, p. 4.

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5. Apollo Arrives at Samothrace

Mary B. Moore

Anyone who becomes interested in Attic figured pottery quickly realizes that it is a very rich body of archaeological material. Whether one is interested in stylistic details that define the work of a specific painter or a group of painters, or whether one prefers iconographical problems that test one's skill to interpret pictures, there is a wealth of material available for study. Most of the best preserved Attic pottery comes from Etruscan tombs, particularly those at Vulci and Cervetri, also Spina, and today much of it may best be viewed in the museums of Europe and America. A significant amount has also been found in Greece, chiefly in Athens, specifically the Akropolis, the Agora, and the Kerameikos, as well as in small tombs discovered and excavated during construction or street repair in the modern city. Attic figured pottery is found in lesser quantities in many other parts of Greece, such as Samos, but very little of it has been found in the excavations of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace. More plentiful there are black-glazed vessels, some of them made locally, and great quantities of Hellenistic and Roman ware including a large fill of conical bowls dumped behind the Stepped Retaining Wall of the circular paved area of the Eastern Hill. All of this is not surprising given the relatively late dates for most of the buildings.¹

As a graduate student at the Institute of Fine Arts in the late 1960s, I participated in the Samothrace excavations in the summers of 1965–68, 1970 and 1972 and I am deeply grateful to Jim McCredie for all I learned from him during those campaigns about proper excavation procedure, retrieval of objects and recording of information. It stood me in good stead when I chose to concentrate on figured pottery whether from an excavation or exhibited in a museum, because this branch of archaeology requires the same kind of precise attention to details. In 1974 and 1975, I went back to Samothrace to study the pottery from the area then identified as the Temenos (here pp. 5–6, Figs 3.1, D and 3.2, no. 17; p. 107, Figs 8A and 8B), which became a chapter in the volume written by Phyllis Williams Lehmann in collaboration with Denys Spittle, with contributions by several other scholars.² But it was not until July 2003 at Jim's invitation, that I returned to Samothrace to study, together with Susan Rotroff, the context pottery excavated in the fill of the building dedicated by Philip III and Alexander IV (here p. 5, Fig. 3.2, no. 24). It was a short visit, but I hope Susan and I made good progress in identifying the various shapes and in establishing the date for this pottery, which will be included in the volume on the monuments of the Eastern Hill prepared by Bonna Wescoat (*Samothrace* 9, forthcoming). On the last afternoon of this visit, when my work was virtually finished, Jim said to me: "What can we do to amuse you?" Whereupon he brought out a drawer of figured potsherds hoping that there might be some I had not seen. There were and one of them is the subject of my contribution to his *Festschrift*.

A small fragment of an Attic red-figured krater found in the 1995 excavation season caught my eye (Fig. 5.1).³ The fragment comes from just below the start of the mouth and one may not be certain if this is a calyx-krater or a bell-krater.⁴ What remains on this small fragment is part of Apollo with his kithara.⁵ The god was

¹ For a brief overview of the Attic figural and glazed pottery found in the Samothrace excavations, see *Samothrace* 11, 2, pp. 511–516.

² *Samothrace* 5, pp. 317–382. This structure is now referred to as the Hall of Choral Dancers. See Marconi, this volume.

³ Inv. no. 95.0054. Max dim. 0.64 m; th. 0.072 m. On the outside, the glaze is dull and has misfired in places; on the inside, it is hard and shiny. Abraded here and there on the outside; deep scratch on the inside.

⁴ Shiny glaze on the inside, as on this fragment, indicates it is either a bell-krater or a calyx-krater. Column-kraters, volute-kraters and stamnoi have dull black glaze on the inside.

⁵ One may object that there is too little of the figure preserved on this fragment to be certain that it is Apollo and not a youthful kitharode. The iconography of Apollo with his kithara, to be discussed below, will make clear, I hope, that this figure is Apollo. Mortal kitharodes almost always stand in profile and face the instrument, either playing it or about to play it (see Fig. 5.8). The musician



Figure 5.1. Attic red-figured calyx-krater fragment, Samothrace Inv. 95.0054. Apollo. Ca. 460 B.C. Photo Lauren Kinnee.

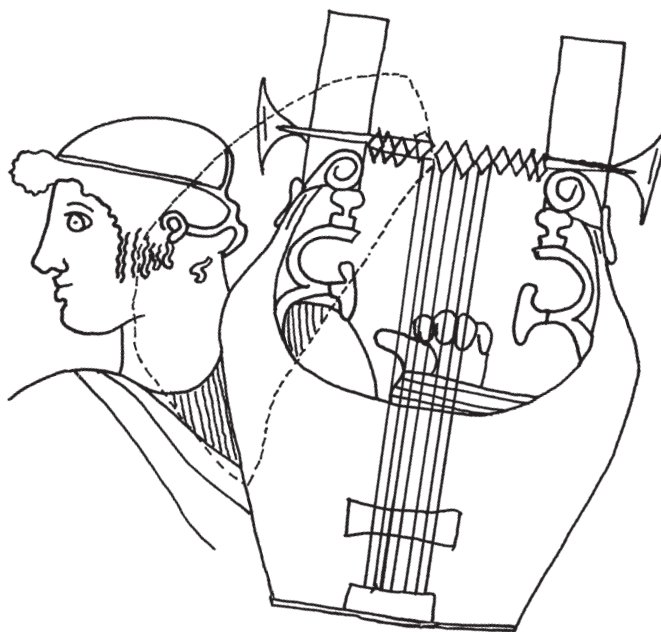


Figure 5.2. Partial reconstruction of Samothrace Inv. 95.0054. Drawing M. Moore.

standing frontally, his head turned to the viewer's left (Fig. 5.2). Just the back of Apollo's head with his hair tied up and held by a fillet,⁶ some of his neck and the end of his jaw line, a little of his chest and left shoulder remain. A few short, wavy locks of hair hang in front of his ear and one behind it. The bits of glaze at the left break probably indicate what remains of the background below Apollo's chin (the rest of this area is abraded).⁷ Apollo wears a chiton as indicated by the vertical lines of glaze above the lower break and below the arm reinforcement of the kithara. I am not certain what the diagonal line in this area represents. It has a short line perpendicular to it, which would probably rule out the top edge of a himation worn diagonally. Nearly one-half of the kithara is preserved: most of one arm with the horizontal crossbar, which projects beyond the upright rectangular section of the arm and terminates in a flaring knob. Several lozenge-shaped tuning knobs remain, but there are no relief lines to indicate the strings of the instrument; they were probably just to the right of the break.⁸ A spiral decorates the bottom of the vertical part of the arm and an elegant configuration reinforces its lower section. A small, slightly curved element is attached to the outside of the arm just below the spiral. It is uncertain what this represents or what its function is.

may be alone or accompanied by onlookers. For a good selection, see Maas and Snyder 1989, pp. 71–78; also, Paquette 1984, pp. 108–125. An exception is the kitharode on Munich 2319, a neck-amphora with twisted handles attributed to the Berlin Painter (*ARV*² 198, no. 22; *Beazley Addenda*² 191). There, the youthful kitharode stands frontally, head turned to his proper right, looking back toward a youth on the other side of the vase.

⁶ Normally, Apollo has long luxuriant locks of hair that hang down his back, but there are some exceptions in both black-figure and red. For the black-figured examples, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 261–262, nos. 630 m, 631 d, g and i, and p. 275, nos. 737 and 740, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinoudakis et al.). In red figure: Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 40 by the Berlin Painter (*Paralipomena* 344, no. 70 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 192); Munich 2304 by the Nikoxenos Painter (*ARV*² 220, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*² 198); Copenhagen, N. M. 126 by the Troilos Painter (*ARV*² 297, no. 11; *Beazley Addenda*² 211); Naples, Mus. Naz. Stg. 192 by the Pan Painter (*ARV*² 556, no. 100; *Paralipomena* 387, no. 100; *Beazley Addenda*² 258); Bologna 286 by the Blenheim Painter (*ARV*² 598, no. 3; *Beazley Addenda*² 265); Paris, Louvre G 370 by the Providence Painter (*ARV*² 639, no. 54; *Beazley Addenda*² 273); Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 45911 from the Group of Polygnotos (*ARV*² 1053, no. 32; *Beazley Addenda*² 322); and London, British Museum E 502 in the manner of the Dinos Painter (*ARV*² 1156, no. 10; *Beazley Addenda*² 337).

⁷ This figure cannot be bearded because the section of the cheek and jawbone would have to be glazed (see Fig. 5.9).

⁸ Usually the strings fan out quite obliquely so they are close to the join of the cross bar and the arm (see Fig. 5.8 below), but occasionally there is a wider space between the arm and the first string. See Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 97.370 an oinochoe by the Altamura Painter (*ARV*², p. 594, 63; Maas and Snyder 1989, p. 71, fig. 1).

It is perhaps risky to try to establish from so small a fragment what the composition painted on this krater may have looked like, but certain criteria allow one to offer suggestions. The calyx-krater and the bell-krater offer a broad surface for the figures. On the calyx-krater, beginning with the one attributed to Exekias that dates about 520 B.C.,⁹ the composition is multi-figured, with or without a floral separating the scene on the obverse from the one on the reverse. The cul provides a firm groundline and the fascia below the torus rim becomes the skyline.¹⁰ The figures on a bell-krater are framed above and below by an ornamental pattern (see Figs 5.5 and 5.6). As we shall see, there is good reason to believe that the scene on the Samothrace krater, whether a calyx-krater or a bell-krater, was multi-figured, but first some brief remarks about the kithara and representations of Apollo with it.

The kithara is a concert instrument that may be played by heroes and mortals, but on the divine level it is one of the attributes of Apollo.¹¹ The earliest examples I know of the god with his kithara occur on the pair of corslets found at Olympia and dated about 630–610 B.C. On the backplate of each (the frontplates are missing), Apollo stands to left playing his kithara accompanied by two goddesses behind him who clasp hands (Artemis and Leto?) and three gods before him, one bearded (Zeus?), the other two unbearded (it is uncertain who they are).¹² More important in our context is the early 6th century dinos in London signed by Sophilos that depicts the procession of guests at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.¹³ All of the Olympians are present as well as other luminaries such as Chiron, the Nymphs, the Muses and the Moirai. Every name is inscribed because the fully human participants, save for two, do not carry objects or wear clothing that would identify them.¹⁴ The two inscribed exceptions who have attributes are Hermes and Apollo who appear together in a chariot near the end of the procession. Hermes drives, Apollo is the passenger, and three Muses accompany them on foot (Fig. 5.3). A broad-brimmed traveling hat with a loop at the top identifies Hermes, and Apollo accompanies himself on the kithara (his open mouth makes clear he is singing). Most of the sound box, part of one arm with inner decoration and the top of the other projecting above Apollo's head are visible. A sash or extra strings hangs down the back of the instrument next to the inscription naming the god. The fingers of Apollo's left hand appear behind the strings. Hermes' kerykeion stands in the chariot resting against the breastwork.

At first glance, the juxtaposition of Hermes, Apollo and the Muses may seem odd, but there is a common denominator: music. Two sources tell us that Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the kithara. The earlier writer is Bion, a Hellenistic bucolic poet who writes (5): "Pan did invent the cross-flute and Athena the flute, Hermes the lyre (χέλυν) and sweet Apollo the harp (κίθαριν)."¹⁵ Later, Pausanias describes an altar at Olympia (V.1.14.8): "After this [other altars] comes an altar of Apollo and Hermes in common, because the Greeks have

⁹ Athens, Agora A-P 1044 (*ABV* 145, no. 19; *Paralipomena* 60, no. 19; *Beazley Addenda*² 40).

¹⁰ There are two exceptions to this compositional arrangement. One shows the figures set in two friezes, one above the other with the upper frieze being a little taller than the lower; the other has the figures placed at different levels, each with his or her own ground line. The earliest preserved examples of these two systems appear in the workshop of the Niobid Painter and include calyx-kraters by the painter himself. See the brief discussion in *Agora* XXX, p. 28 with bibliography. The size of Apollo's head and the kithara in relation to the thickness of the fragment indicates that the figures shared a common groundline.

¹¹ For the kithara and the lyre, see Maas and Snyder 1989, pp. 30–34 and 53–78 for the kithara and pp. 79–112 for the lyre; Paquette 1984, pp. 90–127 for the kithara and pp. 145–171 for the lyre; more generally, Anderson 1994, pp. 27–57 and Appendix A, pp. 171–179. Other attributes of Apollo include his bow and arrow, also a tripod if the scene is set at Delphi.

¹² *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 304, no. 1006 and p. 305, ill.: the 'Crowe' corslet, s.v. Apollon (Lambrinoudakis, et al.). For both backplates, see especially Hoffmann 1972, pp. 50–53. See, most recently, Steinhart 2004, p. 14, fig. 4 who suggests that the scene may represent Apollo at the wedding of the Dioskouroi and the Leukippides.

¹³ London, B.M. 1971.1–11.1: *Paralipomena* 19, no. 16 bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 10; see, especially, Williams 1985.

¹⁴ Even though the names of the two sub-humans are inscribed in this lavish scene of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, each may easily be identified because of his physical appearance, which renders him unique. The first is Chiron who will become the teacher of Achilles. He is the only centaur who has human legs not horse forelegs and who wears clothing, in this scene a short, belted chiton. He carries a branch laden with dead game over his left shoulder and a gnarled club in his right hand (see Williams 1985, p. 24, fig. 28). The other is Okeanos, whose daughter Doris is the mother of Thetis. From the waist up, he is human (except for the horn sticking out of the top his head) and he is clad in a short chiton, but the rest of him ends in a snaky fish-tail complete with fins (see Williams 1985, p. 27, fig. 34). In this scene, Dionysos carries a branch, but the leaves are not ivy (Williams 1985, p. 24, fig. 27); thus, in this representation, he may be identified for certain only by the inscription.

¹⁵ Translation: *The Greek Bucolic Poets* (J. M. Edmonds). I wish to thank Antonio Corso for making me aware of this important reference.



Figure 5.3. Attic black-figured dinos signed by Sophilos. Detail of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis: Hermes, Apollo and Muses. Ca. 580 B.C. London, British Museum 1971.1–11.1. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum.

a story about them that Hermes invented the lyre (λύρας) and Apollo the lute (κιθάρας).¹⁶ More pertinent in the context of the London dinos is *Nemean Ode* 5 (40–44) in which Pindar tells us that “the gladsome song was sung on Pelion [at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis] by the fairest choir of the Muses, while, in their midst, Apollo, sweeping with golden quill the seven-fold notes of the lyre (φόρμιγγα), led the varied strains.”¹⁷ In *Iliad* 24.61–63, Hera scolds Apollo for siding with the Trojans: “... for you all went, you gods, to the wedding [of Peleus and Thetis]; and you too feasted among them and held your lyre (φόρμιγγα).”¹⁸ The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (20–57) describes in detail how the god, when he was very young, invented the lyre by fitting a tortoise shell with curved wooden arms, a crossbar with tuning knobs and seven strings of sheep’s gut.¹⁹ Significantly, perhaps, when Hermes appears as a musician, Apollo is absent.²⁰ Occasionally, Hermes appears in scenes where Apollo plays the kithara, but in these he is either a guide (if the scene is a procession; see Fig. 5.9) or simply a listener.²¹ The two do not make music together.

Occasionally, Apollo appears by himself with his kithara, a good example being a red-figured lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York attributed by Beazley to the Nikon Painter and dating about 480 B.C. (Fig. 5.4). Apollo stands frontally looking to left at a diminutive palm tree, suggesting that the

¹⁶ Translation: W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormead.

¹⁷ Translation: J. E. Sandys. Before the 5th century, the terms kithara and phorminx were interchangeable: “... this instrument [the kithara], already known from the visual evidence as early as the seventh century, was at first called by the old Homeric names *kitharis* and *phorminx*, and that it was not until toward the end of the fifth century that these names were supplanted by the new word, *kithara*” (Maas and Snyder 1989, pp. 30–31; the quotation is on p. 31); also “Pindar, writing early in the fifth century, never used the form, *kithara*, despite his frequent reference in the odes to musical instruments; he prefers the old Homeric word, *phorminx*” (p. 54).

¹⁸ Translation: R. Lattimore.

¹⁹ Translation: H. G. Evelyn-White.

²⁰ LIMC V, 1990, pp. 315–317, nos. 313–319 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

²¹ See LIMC V, 1990, p. 317, nos. 335–337.



Figure 5.4 (*left*). Attic red-figured lekythos by the Nikon Painter. Apollo. Ca. 470 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.224. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leon Pomerance.

Figure 5.5 (*above*). Attic red-figured bell-krater by the Villa Giulia Painter. Apollo with Leto and Artemis. Ca. 470–460 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.96. Fletcher Fund, 1924.

setting may be Delos. On a Nolan amphora in Basel by the Berlin Painter, the god stands in a similar pose pouring a libation from a phiale held in his outstretched right hand.²² Much more often Apollo appears with other Olympians as well as minor deities and these scenes appear on shapes that have room for multi-figured compositions. Frequently Leto and Artemis accompany him, as on a bell-krater in the Metropolitan Museum attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter and dating about 460–450 B.C. where the names are inscribed: ΛΕΤΩ, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ (Fig. 5.5).²³ In these scenes, Apollo is always recognizable but, without an inscription, which woman is his mother and which his sister is not always apparent, particularly in Attic black-figured examples.²⁴ Occasionally Hermes accompanies the trio, as he does on a late-5th-century bell-krater in London in the manner of the Dinos Painter dating about 420 B.C. where Apollo pours a libation over the omphalos at Delphi (Fig. 5.6).²⁵ Apollo not only provides the music at events such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis (Fig. 5.3), but also at the Marriage of Herakles and Hebe, for example on a hydria in the Metropolitan Museum in the manner of the Lysippides Painter (Fig. 5.7),²⁶ as well as at the hero's apotheosis. And sometimes he appears with Dionysos.²⁷ These are just a few examples of the contexts in which Apollo appears with his kithara and in nearly all of those where other gods are present, he stands in profile, facing the kithara, so it is clear that he will perform.²⁸

²² New York, M.M.A. 53.224 (*ARV*² 651, no. 26; *Beazley Addenda*² 276. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 40 (note 6 above). Other shapes where he appears alone include amphorae of various kinds, vases that have vertical formats, occasionally cup tondi, but not on kraters which have broad surfaces. See *LIMC* II, 1984 *passim*, s.v. Apollon (Lambrinoudakis, et al.).

²³ New York, M.M.A. 24.97.96 (*ARV*² 619, no. 17; *Beazley Addenda*² 270). For inscriptions, see Richter and Hall 1936, p. 132.

²⁴ See the examples in *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 261–263, cat. nos. 630–641, s.v. Apollon (Lambrinoudakis et al.).

²⁵ London, B.M. E 502 (note 6 above).

²⁶ New York, M.M.A. 14.105.10 (*ABV* 261, no. 37; *Beazley Addenda*² 68).

²⁷ For Dionysos, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 277–280, cat. nos. 755–781, s.v. Apollon (Lambrinoudakis et al.).

²⁸ For scenes not mentioned above, see *LIMC* II, 1984, *passim*, s.v. Apollon (Lambrinoudakis et al.).



Figure 5.6. Attic red-figured bell-krater in the manner of the Dinos Painter. Apollo with Hermes, Artemis and Leto. Ca. 420–410 B.C. London, British Museum E 502. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5.7. Attic black-figured hydria in the manner of the Lysippides Painter. Wedding of Herakles and Hebe(?). Ca. 520–510 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.105.10. Rogers Fund, 1914.

This posture of Apollo does not agree with his image on the Samothrace fragment for he is not about to play the instrument because his attention is diverted. A search for parallels does not turn up very many, but those few are important in this context and a brief description of them follows.

Three examples are by the Berlin Painter and I shall begin with them. The first, an early work, appears on a fragmentary calyx-krater dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis.²⁹ The obverse depicts Athena mounting her chariot in the presence of Zeus who stands alongside the team with Hermes at the head of it. The names of Zeus and Hermes are inscribed and, presumably, so was Athena's, but the area in front of her where the inscription would be is missing. The reverse, which does not appear to be connected thematically, shows Dionysos and Leto standing to right, the latter holding out a flower to Apollo, and facing him is Artemis.³⁰ Inscriptions identify Dionysos and Apollo and probably also his mother and sister (the area where these inscriptions would be is also missing today).³¹ Apollo stands to right, his torso frontal, head with laurel wreath turned to left, dressed in a long chiton under a diagonal himation. He holds his kithara with his left forearm and hand; in his right is the plektron attached to the box of the instrument by a cord. The plektron is not truly visible in the god's hand, but the presence of several short ends of the unraveled cord which appear at the bottom of a plektron makes clear that this is what the Berlin Painter intended. The plektron was shaped like a spatula. For a particularly good example, see the one held by the kitharode on New York, MMA 56.171.38 by the Berlin Painter (Fig. 5.8).³²

The publication of the next two representations, also by the Berlin Painter, postdate Beazley, who died in 1970, but the attributions have not been questioned. The first is the splendid dinos in Basel that was formerly

²⁹ Athens, National Museum Acr. 732 and London, British Museum E 459: *ARV*² 205, no. 117; *Beazley Addenda*² 193. The best illustration is still the Guilleron drawing in Langlotz 1931, pls 59–60, reprinted in *AntK* 14 (1971), p. 52, fig. 2.

³⁰ Beazley makes a distinction in punctuation when describing obverse and reverse and whether the one is related to the other: "A semi-colon between subjects on a vase implies that they are connected in one way or another; otherwise I put a full stop" (*ARV*² xlvi). In his description of the subjects on Akropolis 732 and London, British Museum E 459 there is a full stop.

³¹ The goddess with the flower should be Leto because a little of her stephane is present at the break just above her forelocks. Lullies (1971, p. 53) calls this goddess Artemis, but does not elaborate. See Fig. 5.6, the figure at the far right. In this scene, Artemis is identified by her quiver, so the goddess who wears a stephane must be Leto.

³² *ARV*² 197, 3; *Paralipomena* 342, no. 3; *Beazley Addenda*² 190. In addition, this is one of the most beautiful renderings of a singer in all of Greek vase painting.



Figure 5.8 (left). 4. Red-figured amphora Type C by the Berlin Painter. Kitharode. Ca. 490 B.C. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.38. Fletcher Fund, 1956.

Figure 5.9 (above). Attic red-figured dinos by the Berlin Painter. Procession of deities: detail of Hermes and Apollo. Ca. 500–490 B.C. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 39. Photo Claire Niggli.

in the collection of Irene and Peter Ludwig and may be dated about 480 B.C.³³ In this frieze-like composition, Zeus mounts his chariot to right in the presence of several deities: behind Zeus, Nike carries a thymiaterion; then comes Athena alongside the team holding out her helmet;³⁴ at the heads of the horses, Hermes stands frontally looking back at Apollo who appears in three-quarter view to right looking back at Hermes; then comes Poseidon holding a fish and his trident; three unidentified figures (they lack attributes) are next; finally, Dionysos with his kantharos and a thyrsos. Although the moment probably belongs to Zeus, Apollo steals the show for he is a resplendent figure who takes up more space than any other (Fig. 5.9).

Apollo wears a long chiton beneath a very full himation that billows out a little to his proper right, as if he has turned back suddenly in response to Hermes, as suggested by Lullies (see below). Around his head is an elegant laurel wreath. With his left hand he steadies his kithara, the dotted strap snug around his palm, and in his right hand he holds the plektron, which is attached to the instrument by a red cord. Extra strings for the kithara hang down from the far side of the instrument and there is also an elegant fringed sash decorated with a lozenge pattern. A deer accompanies Apollo and looks back at him, reminiscent of the fawn on the Berlin Painter's name vase.³⁵ On the Basel dinos, Hermes wears a chlamys over a short chiton and winged boots. His petasos hangs down his back and in his left hand he holds his kerykeion. Lullies made the interesting suggestion that the raised hand of Hermes indicates he has interrupted Apollo's music-making who is both surprised and indignant ("unwilling") by this unexpected and rude behavior.³⁶ He does indeed seem to look back rather petulantly at Hermes. If this suggestion by Lullies is correct, one is reminded that Apollo and Hermes each invented a stringed instrument, but Apollo's instrument is the more noble of the two. Even though these two gods never seem to play music together, might there be a bit of jealous rivalry when it comes to making music? We shall never know for sure, but given the Berlin Painter's gift for subtle compositions, this interpretation is a distinct possibility.

The third example by the Berlin Painter of Apollo standing in this position with his kithara in the company

³³ Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Lu 39. See *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 289, no. 861, pl. 260, s.v. Apollon (Lambrinoudakis et al.); Shapiro 1989, pl. 64 d. The most extensive treatment is Lullies 1971; more briefly, Lullies 1979, pp. 108–109, no. 39.

³⁴ For this motive, see Kunisch 1974.

³⁵ Berlin 2160 (*ARV*² 196, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 342, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*² 190).

³⁶ Lullies 1979, p. 109, less strongly 1971, p. 48.



Figure 5.10. Attic red-figured stamnos by the Berlin Painter. Procession of deities: detail of Apollo and Nike. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1978.45. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III and Miss Emily D. B. Vermeule, by exchange. Photo Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

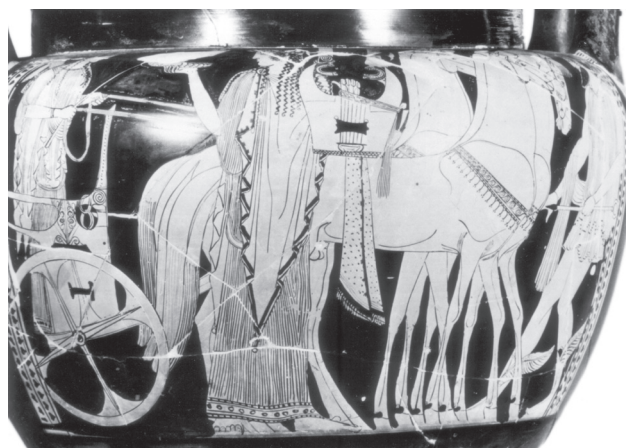


Figure 5.11. Attic red-figured column-krater by the Painter of Bologna 228. Artemis in a chariot, Apollo and Hermes. Ca. 460 B.C. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico 1685 (ex T. 308). After Alfieri and Arias, *Spina*, Florence 1958, pl. 25.

of other Olympians occurs on an elegant kalpis once in Boston attributed to the painter by Herbert Cahn and it is contemporary with the Basel dinos.³⁷ The scene on the shoulder and body depicts Apollo in the presence of other deities about to perform a sacrifice at an altar on which a wreath has been placed (Fig. 5.10); from the vertical handle, left to right: Hermes to left, looking back; Nike about to pour liquid (wine?) into the phiale held by Apollo; Leto and Artemis standing side by side; and Athena coming in holding out her helmet just as she does on the Basel dinos.³⁸ Apollo stands frontally, head turned to left facing Nike. He wears a long chiton under a himation and has an elegant laurel wreath around his head. With his left forearm and hand (now missing) he holds his kithara, adorned with a long elegant sash. The lower part of each arm of the instrument and most of its sound box are missing.

There are two more good parallels for the appearance of Apollo that I am postulating for the Samothrace fragment. The grander of the two occurs on a column-krater in Ferrara attributed to the Painter of Bologna 288, which dates about 460–450 B.C. (Fig. 5.11).³⁹ On the obverse, Artemis stands in a chariot to right and Hermes appears at the head of the team holding his kerykeion. Apollo is a majestic figure, standing along the right-hand side of the horses (from the charioteer's point of view), holding up a phiale in his right hand, the kithara in his left. He wears the customary long chiton under a himation and has a handsome laurel wreath around his head. A long, fringed sash decorated with dots hangs down from the sound box of the kithara as well as some extra strings.

My last example occurs on a pelike in the Cabinet des Médailles attributed to the Providence Painter, who was probably a pupil of the Berlin Painter.⁴⁰ On the obverse of this vase, Apollo stands frontally, holding a phiale in his right hand, which will be filled with a libation of wine or water by a winged goddess who holds

³⁷ Once Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1978.45; *Nostoi* p. 92, no. 17.

³⁸ In his description and comparanda for this vase (*Auktion* LI, pp. 66–68, no. 155), Herbert Cahn identifies the winged goddess as Iris, without explanation, but cites bibliography (p. 68) that deals briefly with the problem of whether to call a winged goddess Iris or Nike (see especially Simon 1953, pp. 62–63). Because the goddess in this scene does not carry a kerykeion, I would prefer to identify her as Nike. For Iris, see *LIMC* V, 1990, s.v. Iris I (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); for Nike, see *LIMC* VI, 1992, s.v. Nike (A. Moustaka [Archaic]; A. Goulaki-Voutira [Classical]). Whether to identify a winged goddess as Iris or Nike can sometimes be difficult, but certain clues are important. In the majority of painted illustrations, Iris carries a kerykeion, an attribute as important to her as it is to Hermes. In the 6th century, she usually wears a short chiton, sometimes also boots; in the 5th century, her customary garment is a long chiton. As far as I know, Nike does not carry a kerykeion and, besides her wings, what really defines her is a long chiton as well as the various objects she may hold (see *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nike *passim*). Thus, if a winged goddess wears a long chiton, but does not carry a kerykeion, she should probably be called Nike.

³⁹ Ferrara 1685 [T. 308]; *ARV*² 511, no. 5; *Paralipomena* 382, no. 5; *Beazley Addenda*² 252; *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 323, no. 431 a, pl. 234, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); the best photos are in Alfieri and Arias 1958, pls 24–27.

⁴⁰ Paris Cab. Méd. 392; *ARV*² 638, 53; *Beazley Addenda*² 273. For the Providence Painter as a pupil of the Berlin Painter, see *ARV*² 635: “He must have been a pupil of the Berlin Painter.”

out an oinochoe in her left hand. She is identified as Nike by Beazley in *ARV*², but she is probably Iris because she carries a kerykeion in her right hand.⁴¹ Apollo is clad in a long chiton under a diagonal himation. He holds his kithara as he does in similar representations. Like the instrument on the krater by the Painter of Bologna 288 (Fig. 5.11), this one also has extra strings and a long fringed sash decorated with pretty rosettes.⁴²

This brief discussion of multfigured compositions in which Apollo holds his kithara, not playing it or about to play it, but standing frontally looking back to another deity, reveals that there is quite a bit of latitude with regard to subject matter. If this were a wedding procession with Apollo contributing the music (which it is not because the god is not playing his kithara), it would be tempting to suggest that the scene represented the Samothracian version of the Wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, a subject normally associated with Thebes. As far as I know, however, the few representations of this myth on Greek vases very likely represent the Theban wedding.⁴³ Probably, the most that may be conjectured about the subject in which Apollo appeared on this krater is that he was part of an assemblage of deities, very likely Leto and Artemis, perhaps also Hermes, and maybe Dionysos or Nike.

It remains to try to date and attribute this fragment, even though there is very little concrete evidence and the poor preservation of the surface complicates matters considerably. Although I have drawn several parallels with the work of the Berlin Painter, these are iconographic not stylistic. What I can determine from the drawing is that it is not crisp and sure enough to be that of the Berlin Painter or even in his manner.⁴⁴ Still, the drawing originally looked far superior to its appearance today. I am inclined to look for parallels among the Attic painters working in the second quarter of the 5th century, not only because of the style, but also for an historical consideration. In her survey of the Attic pottery found in the Samothrace excavations, Elsbeth Dusenbery noted a hiatus in the importation of Attic pottery during the first decades of the 5th century and postulated that the reason for this was because at this time the Persians controlled the northern Aegean, so it would be most unlikely that Attic pottery would be exported north during those years; also Herodotus (8.90) tells us that Samothracian ships and crew fought with the Persians at Salamis in 479 B.C.⁴⁵ Thus, in the first quarter of the 5th century, there would have been little incentive for Athenian ceramicists to export their wares to Samothrace.

In any case, I have not had any tangible success in making an attribution of this fragment to a painter of the Early Classical period, simply because there are not enough details. A good clue would be the lozenge-shaped tuning knobs of the kithara, except that I have not been able to find a parallel. Tuning knobs are usually longish ovals, often painted red, but they may also appear in various shapes.⁴⁶ There is something faintly reminiscent of Hermonax in the drawing of the ear and the slightly ragged rendering of the drapery folds,⁴⁷ but this is not sufficient evidence to warrant an attribution to Hermonax, even though a fragmentary bell-krater attributed to him by Elsbeth Dusenbery turned up in a fill of burned earth on the terrace east of the Stoa which also spilled over the terrace wall to the area of the dining rooms below.⁴⁸ If our fragment could be shown to

⁴¹ For the problem of identifying a winged goddess as Iris or Nike, see note 38 above.

⁴² A variation on this pose occurs on a stamnos in the Louvre, also attributed to the Providence Painter: Paris, Louvre G 370: *ARV*² 639, no. 54; *Beazley Addenda*² 273. Apollo appears with Zeus and Hera, both seated at opposite ends of the composition, also with Nike who turns toward Zeus. Apollo is frontal and turns his head to right toward the kithara and Hera, but his feet point to left. This is not the position in which Apollo plays the instrument; then he stands completely in profile either to left or to right.

⁴³ See Gantz 1993, pp. 467–473; also *LIMC* IV, 1990, pp. 872 and 881, s.v. Kadmos I (M. Tiverios). Diodorus Siculus (5.47.1–50.1) (translation: C.H. Oldfather) writing in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus, tells us that Kadmos, in his search for Europa, came to Samothrace, was initiated into the mysteries, then married Harmonia; also that the gods provided the wedding feast and Apollo played his kithara. In this version (5.48.3), Harmonia is the daughter of Zeus and Elektra, who is a Pleiad, not the daughter of Agamemnon. In the Theban account, Harmonia is the offspring of Ares and Aphrodite, as she is in the *Theogony* 933–937 (translation: Evelyn-White 1914, p. 149). For the Samothracian version, which is probably later than the Theban, see *Samothrace* 1, p. 17, cat. no. 32 for the parents of Harmonia and p. 65, cat. no. 142 for the wedding; also the brief remarks by McCredie 1974, p. 458.

⁴⁴ One may also mention that the Berlin Painter's works are mostly found in Etruria, chiefly at Vulci, but also at many other sites on the Italian peninsula. Very little has been found in Greece and none from a northern site. See *ARV*², pp. 196–214; 1634–1635; *Paralipomena*, pp. 344–345; for the Panathenaic amphorae, see *ABV*, pp. 407–408.

⁴⁵ *Samothrace* 11, 2, p. 513; also *Samothrace* I, p. 43, cat. 97: "...a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of darts off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves."

⁴⁶ See Paquette, *passim*; Maas and Snyder, *passim*; Anderson, pp. 37–39 and p. 174 (note 11 above).

⁴⁷ Cf. the ear of the left komast and the drapery folds of the chiton worn by the flute girl on Paris, Louvre G 336 (*ARV*² 483, 1).

⁴⁸ See Dusenbery 1978, pp. 236–243 and p. 212, n. 3 for a brief mention of this fill, with bibliography, especially, McCredie 1974,

be from a bell-krater and also attributed to Hermonax, it would be tempting to think that the painter sent a pair of kraters to Samothrace, but this is probably wishful thinking. The only other bell-krater by Hermonax is the one found at Argos,⁴⁹ but he is not interested in representations of Apollo, either by himself or in the company of other deities. So, Hermonax should probably be eliminated as a candidate.

Apollo indeed came to Samothrace as early as the middle of the 5th century and I am glad he did. I just wish more of him had survived on this pot to allow us to understand better the composition and to attribute it to a painter. This was once a very fine, impressive krater.

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pp. 454–459 for the architectural character of this area.

⁴⁹ Among the pots, Hermonax prefers stamnoi and pelikai, neck-amphorae and loutrophoroi. His only other bell-krater seems to be the one found at Argos C 909 (*ARI*² 485, 23; *Beazley Addenda*² 248).

6. Moldmade Bowls at Samothrace

Susan I. Rotroff

The hemispherical relief bowl has long served as a convenient chronological marker for the Hellenistic period; introduced around the middle of the span, it was widely adopted and is a common feature of the ceramic assemblage of the 2nd and earlier 1st century.¹ Not every site, however, follows this pattern, and the island of Samothrace stands among the exceptions. There, despite decades of excavation in areas of intense Hellenistic activity, the published ceramics include only a handful of moldmade bowls.² I offer here a discussion of two previously-published Hellenistic moldmade vessels found in Cemetery H and of a small suite of fragments that have come to light within the Sanctuary of the Great Gods.

Moldmade Vessels from Cemetery H

Elspeth Dusenbery included a small collection of Hellenistic moldmade vessels in her monumental publication of material from the cemeteries of Samothrace: a single complete bowl and a small moldmade jug from the partially excavated Cemetery H, along with four tiny fragments, perhaps from three bowls, from the fill around the graves in Cemetery S.³ Little can be added to her comments on the fragments, except to note that they represent both the pine-cone and floral genres. Their decoration is highly conventional and gives no clue to their origins. More, however, can be said about the two better preserved pieces.

The Samothracian soil has not been kind to the bowl (Fig. 6.1:1, Fig. 6.2),⁴ and it is difficult to make out the designs that decorated its surface. The upper part of the wall, however, is occupied by a relatively rare motif, a series of swags hung between boukrania, the space above each swag filled by a large rosette. A close analogy to this composition can be found in the molds and bowls of Kyme, on the coast of Asia Minor.⁵ On some of these, a row of large leaves decorates the lower body, as is also the case on the Samothrace bowl, although on the Kyme examples this leafy frieze is separated from the upper wall by a horizontal ridge. The remarkably tall rim of the Samothrace bowl, which makes up almost 40% of its height, can also be paralleled at Kyme,⁶ as well as in other industries of Asia Minor,⁷ though none of these is as widely splayed as the rim of the Samothrace bowl. The differences are sufficient that one cannot assign the Samothrace bowl to a Kyme workshop, but an origin in this part of the Aegean seems likely. The boukranion and swag motif is

¹ The precise date of their introduction is disputed (third or fourth quarter of the 3rd century; see Rotroff 2006 for a discussion of the issue), but there is no question that their production and use was widespread in the 2nd century and the first half of the 1st.

² Karadima 1997 summarizes the bibliography of Hellenistic pottery on the island.

³ *Samothrace* 11, pp. 760–763.

⁴ *Samothrace* 11, pp. 762–763, H22–1; see pp. 465–467 for burial H22, where it was found, along with a plain-ware jug, a small table lagynos, and two black-gloss echinus bowls (none of these objects is closely datable). Dusenbery dated the grave to the second half of the 2nd century, which may be correct. She conjectures that the bowl was made on Samothrace in an imported mold; only chemical analysis of the fabric could confirm this hypothesis.

⁵ Bouzek and Jansová 1974, pp. 24, 47, 51, 57, 58, MB 6, MB 49–MB 52, Smyrna B, and perhaps MB 43, figs 2, 3, 8, pls 2, 3, 6–8. Similar compositions with swags may also be found at Pergamon (*AvP* I, ii, p. 274, nos. 6, 16, 17). See also Louvre S 4367, *CVA* Louvre 15 [France 23], pls 11 [983]:3 and 16 [988]:6, unfortunately without provenience.

⁶ Cf. Bouzek and Jansová 1974, p. 72, MB 117, MB 118, fig. 15, pl. 16.

⁷ Cf. *Sardis* M12, pp. 110–112, nos. 441, 442, 450, pls 74, 76. See also an unprovenienced bowl in the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Anlağan 2000, pp. 90–93, no. 17).

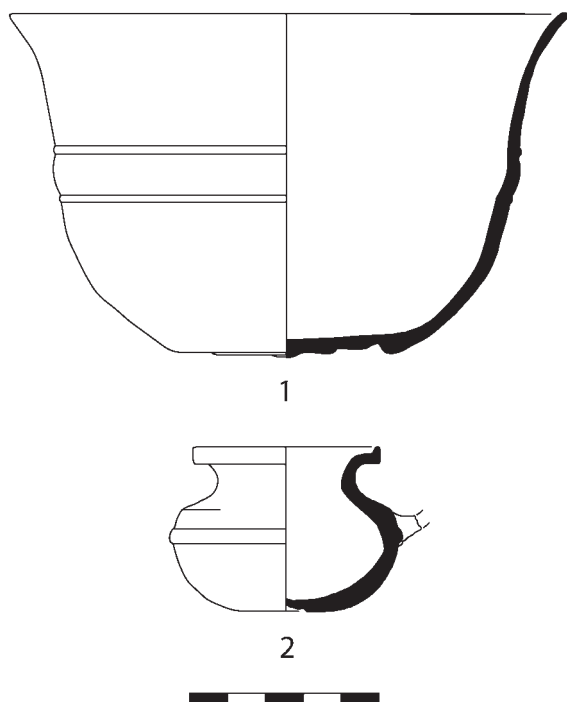


Figure 6.1. Bowl (1) and moldmade juglet (2) from Cemetery H (inv. nos. 54.133, 55.84). After *Samothrace* 11.



Figure 6.2. Bowl from Cemetery H (inv. no. 54.133). Photo Bonna Wescoat.

also known among Ionian bowls,⁸ on Lemnos,⁹ and in the industry of Sardis,¹⁰ which was heavily influenced by workshops on the coast. The motif appears again on two bowls found at Histria, but they are thought to be imports to the site, their origins uncertain.¹¹ This parallel does, however, point ahead to a problem that will concern us below – the identity of moldmade bowl industries on the coasts of the Black Sea and their relationship to the products of Asia Minor.

The other well-preserved vessel is a small jug (Fig. 6.1:2, Fig. 6.3).¹² Its lower body is moldmade, the upper part thrown on the wheel, forming a shoulder, a short, wide neck and an outturned, molded rim; it is furnished with a single strap handle. This shape is well-documented in the eastern Mediterranean, and even in Italy,¹³ and all published examples share the same basic features: small size, moldmade body, one handle (either strap or double), and elaboration of the rim. Although the shape is often called an aryballos, the neck is too wide for an oil container, and the use to which these juglets were put presents an intriguing puzzle. At 6.1 cm. in diameter, the Samothrace example is one of the smallest, but few measure larger than 9 cm. Although those found in graves could be miniatures, symbolic substitutes for larger vessels, juglets have also been found in

⁸ *Délos XXXI*, p. 115, nos. 1111, 1112, pls 26, 121 (lacking the rosette, bounded by beading below, workshop of Comique à la canne), p. 178, nos. 8747, pl. 39 (workshop of the monogrammist), p. 306, no. 3481, pls 72, 129 (bounded by ridge below, workshop of Heraios).

⁹ Archontidou-Argyri 1994, p. 233, BE 11419, BE 11439, pl. 178.

¹⁰ *Sardis M12*, p. 147, no. 620, pl. 108, lacking the rosette.

¹¹ *Histria XI*, p. 92, no. 442, pl. 30 (Asia Minor is the suggested source), p. 122, no. 603, pl. 42 (identified as Pontic). Two fragments with the motif are also published from the region of Florina, in Greece, but stylistically they are very different (Adam-Veleni 1997, p. 144, pl. 115:δ).

¹² *Samothrace* 11, pp. 760–761, H20–1; for the grave in which it was found, see pp. 463–465. The grave also contained a baggy kantharos, a moldmade lamp, a terracotta herm, and a bronze coin of uncertain identification (H20–5, pp. 944–945).

¹³ *Délos XXXI*, p. 83, no. 313, pl. 18; p. 461, no. 3502, pl. 106; p. 471, no. 167, pl. 109; p. 475, no. 3535, pls 110, 134; Courby, p. 330, fig. 62:VII (Delos); *Sardis M12*, p. 116, no. 483, pl. 83; *Ephesos XIII:1:1*, pp. 75, 86, nos. 217, 268, pls 15, 20, 84, 86; Bouzek and Jansová 1974, p. 74, MB 136, fig. 16, pl. 14 (Kyme); *Agora XXII*, p. 92, no. 406, pls 69, 89; *Agora XXIX*, p. 297, no. 515, fig. 38, pl. 50; *ArchDelt* 21, 1966, B'1 [1968], p. 165, pl. 164:δ (Gialova, in Messenia); Mercado 1976, pp. 164, 187, figs 22, 23 (Ancona). Of unknown provenience: Anlağan 2000, pp. 138–141, nos. 34, 35; *Antiken aus Rheinischem Privatbesitz*, p. 78, nos. 110, 111, pl. 48; *CVA Frankfurt* 4 [Germany 66], pp. 51–52, pl. 24 [3269]:7, 8, Beilage 3:6.



Figure 6.3. Juglet from Cemetery H (inv. 55.84). Photo Bonna Wescoat.

settlement contexts, suggesting that they had a role to play in life. The size seems too small for a wine jug; possibly they were used to serve some other liquid – honey, perhaps, or something else that was added to wine in small quantities.

The relief decoration provides clues to the date and origin of the Samothrace juglet. Tall, rounded petals lacking a central rib alternate with floral motifs consisting of a column of small rounded leaves with central ribs, stamped one above the other to create a stem, at the top of which is a cluster of three curved petals. The distinctive tall, rounded petal was introduced into the repertoire of the moldmade bowl in the course of the first half of the 2nd century. Although isolated examples of these so-called “long-petal” bowls can be dated as early as about 175, the type did not become common until somewhat later;¹⁴ a date in the second half of the 2nd century is most likely for our juglet.¹⁵ Alternation of long petals with more naturalistic floral motifs, a scheme alien to the industries of mainland Greece, is particularly common

among bowls of Asia Minor.¹⁶ Furthermore, the form of the long petal on the Samothrace juglet, outlined with a border of small squares, is paralleled at Pergamon and at Sardis.¹⁷ On a fragment from Miletos, long petals alternate with a column of beading topped by a small, rounded leaf similar to the one that makes up the stem of the floral element on the Samothrace jug.¹⁸ The precise form of the rim, upwardly thickened into a thin ridge at the edge, is best paralleled at Ephesos.¹⁹ The western coast of Asia Minor thus seems a likely source for the little jug from the Samothracian necropolis.

Fragments from the Sanctuary

Although the Classical kantharos is well represented in early Hellenistic deposits in the Sanctuary²⁰ and clearly was used in the rituals enacted there, the moldmade bowl did not replace it as the preferred drinking vessel, as happened so commonly elsewhere. When celebrants poured libations and drank, as they surely must have done, they apparently used a simple conical bowl or saucer, thousands of which have been found in the Sanctuary.²¹ A search through the excavation inventory reveals only a few fragments of moldmade bowls. One preserves nothing but a small segment of egg-and-dart rim,²² another part of an imbricate calyx

¹⁴ Rotroff 1988; Rotroff forthcoming.

¹⁵ This is consistent with the other closely datable object in the grave, a moldmade lamp (*Samothrace* 11, pp. 826–827, H20–3) that finds a close parallel on Delos dating to the second half of the 2nd century or early 1st century (*Délos* XXVI, p. 95, no. 4286, pl. 24).

¹⁶ See, for example, *Ephesos* XIII:1:1, p. 82, nos. 247, 248, pls 19, 86; Bouzek and Jansová 1974, p. 30, MB 91–MB 93, fig. 5, pl. 12 (Kyme); *Délos* XXXI, p. 118, nos. 1358, 8757, 8758, pl. 27 and p. 384, nos. 607, 1124, 2785, 4840, pl. 92.

¹⁷ *AvP* I, ii, Beiblatt 43:23; *Sardis* M12, p. 125, no. 526, pl. 92. See also Künzl 2002, pp. 42–43, no. 81, pls 174–176, a mold in the Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum, from illicit excavations perhaps in Asia Minor; and Anlağan 2000, pp. 129–131, no. 31, a moldmade amphora of Asia Minor type.

¹⁸ *Milet* V, 1, p. 38, M 245, fig. 12, pl. 54.

¹⁹ *Ephesos* XIII:1:1, p. 75, no. 217, pl. 15. See also Anlağan 2000, pp. 140–141, no. 35.

²⁰ For example, many kantharoi were recovered from the fill of the Rotunda of Arsinoe (*Samothrace* 7, pp. 287–293, 348–357, 398–401, nos. 44–86).

²¹ E.g., *Samothrace* 3,II, pp. 192–193, 206–207, nos. 108–112; these are probably Roman in date, but the series begins in the Hellenistic period.

²² Inv. no. 65.345. Preserved width 3.9 cm, wall thickness 0.4 cm. Fragment preserves three units of egg-and-dart with a ridge below and a faint ridge above. Upper wall curves in slightly; fragment could come from a jug. Soft orange clay with tiny sparkling inclusions; traces of dull black gloss.

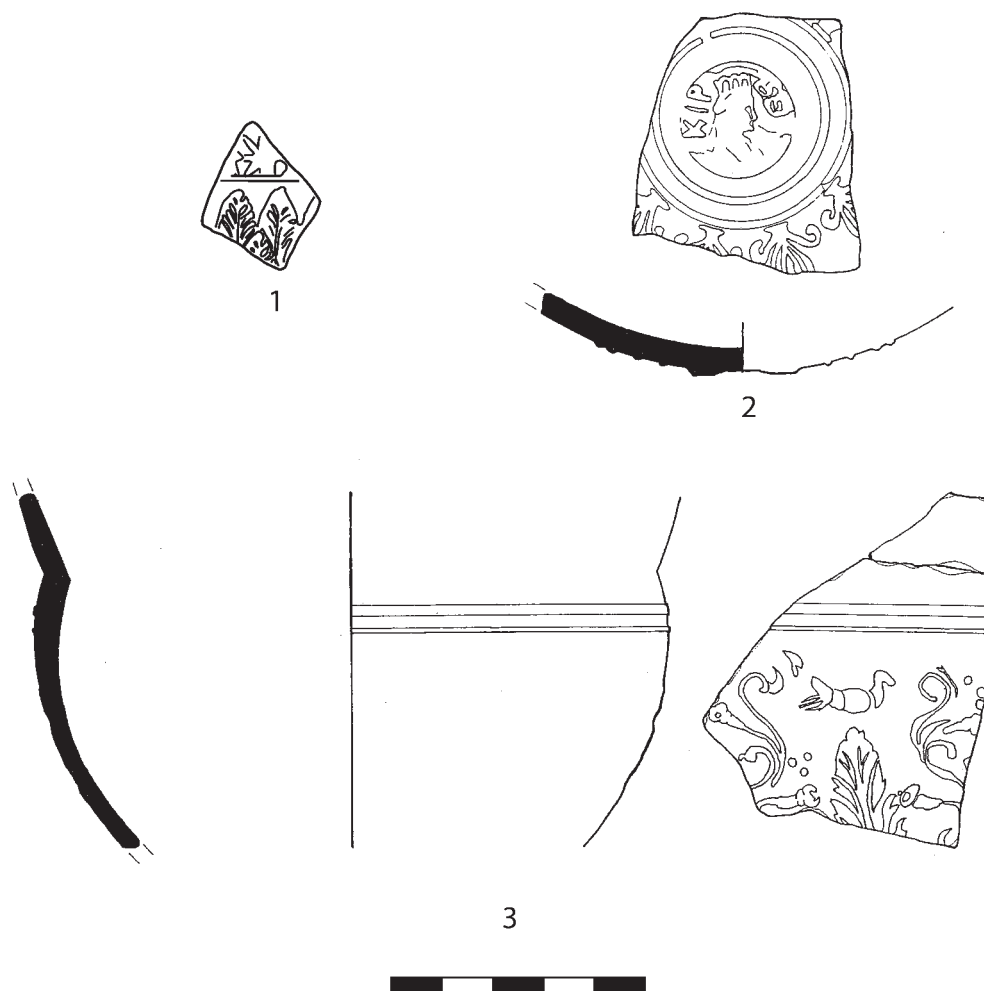


Figure 6.4. Three fragments of moldmade bowls from the sanctuary (inv. nos. 65.1145, 66.535, 2000.6). Drawings Susan Rotroff (1) and Yong Kim (2, 3).

and traces of a floral pattern on the wall,²³ too little to associate them with any workshop or region. More characteristic details are preserved on three others, however.

A tiny fragment less than three centimeters high comes from an imbricate bowl (inv. no. 65.1145, Figs 6.4.1, 6.5.1). Parts of two rows of overlapping, pointed leaves with single central ribs are preserved, carefully positioned so that the point of the leaf in the lower row fits precisely between the bases of the two above. The rim pattern is a starburst bordered above and below by ridges. The clay is gray with small white inclusions, the glaze black, though flaking, and the surface worn. The combination of fine, imbricate decoration with a starburst rim pattern occurs with some regularity in the Ionian workshops best known from bowls found on Delos.²⁴ Imbricate leaves in this group, however, are always outlined by a thin ridge, a feature that is not present on the Samothrace fragment. It may not, then, be Ionian, but perhaps comes from an area not too far afield, or from a workshop that imitated Ionian products; the careful execution of the stamping argues against a provincial workshop.

The two joining fragments of 66.535 make up part of the upper wall of a floral bowl, preserved to a height of 6.8 cm (Figs 6.4.3, 6.5.2). The upper part of an acanthus leaf with a beaded central rib survives, flanked

²³ Inv. no. 65.347, from the Eastern Hill. Max. p. dim. 4.9 cm; wall th. at top < 0.3 cm. Single fragment preserving small segment of ridge around medallion and lower wall. Surface very worn. Calyx of four rows of small, probably ribbed, rounded leaves; rows are staggered but leaves do not overlap. On the wall, lower part of acanthus leaf, with unidentified motifs in field to left and right. Soft, very fine pinkish-buff clay with a few sparkling inclusions; hard, shiny, bright red gloss, mostly missing on exterior.

²⁴ E.g., *Délos* XXXI, p. 227, no. 5382, pl. 51 (Apollonios); p. 278, no. 5556, pl. 64 and p. 289, no. 9328, pl. 66 (Heraios, gray fabric); p. 464, no. 5266, pl. 107 (gray fabric); p. 468, no. 26, pl. 108.



Figure 6.5. Three fragments of moldmade bowls from the sanctuary.
Photo Susan Rotroff.

by floral tendrils accentuated by groups of three dots. A bird sits to right above the acanthus. There is no rim pattern, only a ridge. The shape is unusual, with a rim that is slightly convex to the outside, but angled outward from the wall. The fabric is fine and soft, fired gray below and tan above, with a few very fine sparkling inclusions and tiny pieces of silver mica. Gloss is shiny black below, brown to black above.

Although some of the stamps, particularly the bird, are distinctive, precise parallels are elusive. The composition – alternating tendrils and acanthus – is a common one, and birds are frequent filling devices. Kyme again furnishes some of the closest comparanda, in bowls from the Paniskos Workshop, although the stamps are not identical.²⁵ The three dots

as filling motifs occur frequently among Ionian bowls,²⁶ but not in conjunction with this composition. In any event, this bowl, with its outturned rim and lacking a rim pattern, cannot be Ionian. The strong outward cant of the rim is found in a bowl from Myrina.²⁷ Another parallel for the composition, however, was found in a 2nd-century tomb at Histria.²⁸ Whether to locate this bowl in Asia Minor or the Pontic region thus becomes a difficulty, a quandary that extends to our last fragment as well.

Unlike the others, the fragment 2000.6 (Figs 6.4.2, 6.5.3) can be attributed to a workshop without question, for the trademark-like medallion of the bowl is preserved. Here, surrounded by two ridges, is a perfectly round stamp bearing the head of a goddess, facing right; she wears a mural crown with three tall towers, and a fillet hangs down her back. The signature KIPBEI surrounds her head, three letters to the left and three to the right. The lower parts of four lotus petals of the calyx are preserved (probably there were originally 12); each petal, outlined by a heavy ridge and with a depressed central rib, grows out of two outcurved tendrils and rests on a splayed base. The fabric is hard and of a dusty-rose color, with many sparkling inclusions (silver mica and mineral facets) and two larger pieces of golden mica, along with tiny fragments of translucent gray mineral, and a very small amount of lime. The gloss is thin and brown.²⁹

Both the unusual profile goddess and the signature associate this fragment with the workshop of Kirbeis. About 40 vessels (both bowls and moldmade amphoras) attributed to this atelier by signature are known to me through publications (e.g., Figs 6.6, 6.7), and fragments of a few more, lacking the definitive medallion, may be added to the number tentatively (see the list at the end of this paper). Most were found on the northern and western shores of the Black Sea, but a few have also come to light in the Aegean.

Special problems attend the study of this workshop. Its products have been found in and are stored at a wide range of places, most of them not easily accessible to a western scholar, and many are published in journals and books that are difficult to find, at least in American libraries, and in photographs of poor quality. Full examination of the atelier calls for someone with command of Slavic languages and the ability to travel widely on the coasts of the Black Sea.³⁰ From the published material, however, it is possible to appreciate that the workshop produced bowls in a considerable variety of styles. Both floral and figured compositions are represented, with an apparent preference for the latter, although the figures are often nestled within lavish floral calyxes; pine-cone, imbricate, and long-petal bowls are not attested. The range of style is considerable.

²⁵ Bouzek and Jansová 1974, pp. 52–54, MB 15, MB 19, MB 20, fig. 1, pl. 4; a bird perches above an acanthus on the unattributed MB 89, p. 65, fig. 4, pl. 11. See also *CVA* Frankfurt 4 [Germany 66], pp. 51–52, fig. 14, without provenience, but perhaps Pergamene.

²⁶ E.g., *Délos* XXXI, pl. 45, bottom (workshop of the monogrammist), p. 224, no. 479, pl. 50 (workshop of Apollonios).

²⁷ Louvre S 4369, *CVA* Louvre 15 [France 23], p. 14, pl. 12 [1984]:3.

²⁸ *Histria* II, p. 290, no. XXXVII:27, pl. 97, tentatively identified as north Pontic.

²⁹ See Bouzek 1990, p. 66 for a description of the typical fabric of the Kirbeis bowls.

³⁰ Pia Guldager Bilde is preparing such a study, drawing on her first-hand experience with material from Olbia. A report of her conclusions, and a longer list of bowls by Kirbeis, will appear in the acts of the conference *Pottery, peoples and places: the late Hellenistic period, c. 200–50 BC between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea* that took place in November of 2008, sponsored by the Centre for Black Sea Studies.



Figure 6.6. Three bowls signed by Kirbeis, said to have been found in southern Russia. After Zahn 1908.

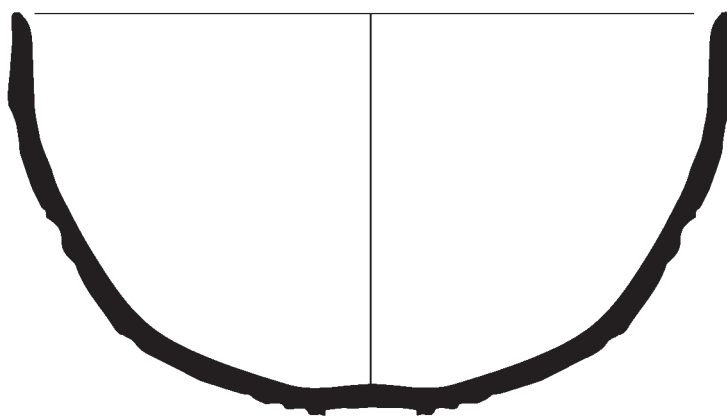


Figure 6.7. Profile of a bowl found in Mirmekion and signed by Kirbeis. After *Mirmeki II*.

On some bowls the floral elements are simple, linear, and widely spaced,³¹ while others display a thicket of motifs, including a distinctive acanthus leaf that swirls to the right (Fig. 6.6.1).³² Some bowls conform to the classic alternation of leaves and tendrils well documented in bowls of Asia Minor,³³ while on others the wall

³¹ *Histria* XI, pp. 118–119, nos. 586, 587, 591, pl. 40.

³² Pharmakowsky 1910, cols 240–241, no. 4, fig. 34 (from Olbia); Zahn 1908, pp. 60–61, no. 14, figs 14a, b.

³³ Ocheșeanu 1969, pp. 235–236, no. 19, figs 32–34 (probably from the west coast of the Black Sea); *Mirmeki II*, pp. 79–80, fig.

is divided into registers,³⁴ and some suffer from horror vacui, presenting a surface overloaded with floral and figured decoration (Fig. 6.6.2).³⁵ The medallion invariably presents the familiar crowned goddess, who, in better impressed instances, can be seen to be holding a tympanum with her left hand;³⁶ but there is stylistic variation and even, in one case, a slightly different inscription.³⁷ Perhaps there was more than one center of production, and it is possible too that some of the signed bowls may be imitations of others; signed examples at Histria, for instance, look very different from those reported from Olbia. The single profile drawing known to me, of a bowl from Mirmekion, shows a fully hemispherical shape with a low, nearly straight rim, turning out slightly at the lip (Fig. 6.7).³⁸

Discussion of the workshop has revolved around the issue of its location, with rival claims for the Black Sea and Asia Minor. The earliest treatment of the material assumed an origin in Olbia, where the first published examples had been found.³⁹ Furthermore, it was pointed out over a century ago that the unusual form of the signature (presumably a genitive of the name Kirbeis) is well paralleled in the Greek of the Black Sea region.⁴⁰ Early scholars also pointed to the turreted goddess of Olbian coinage as a source for the imagery of the medallion.⁴¹ By the 1940s, however, doubts were being expressed, and E. I. Levi included Kirbeis bowls among imports in her publication of moldmade bowls from Olbia.⁴² Viktor Gaidukevich and N. M. Loseva followed suit, identifying the Kirbeis bowls as products of Asia Minor,⁴³ a conclusion that has been widely accepted.⁴⁴ Exactly where in that huge geographical region we should seek their origins, however, remains a mystery. Jan Bouzek, who published a summary of the debate in 1990, and whose wide experience of the pottery of the region lends authority to his opinion, excluded the cities of the northern and western coasts of the Black Sea on the basis of the fine quality of the bowls; he saw a southern Pontic source as likely.⁴⁵ Coming at the question from another direction, Ulrich Hausmann found the quality of the bowls too poor to maintain an origin on the west coast of Asia Minor; he, too, opted for the south coast of the Black Sea.⁴⁶ Zoe Kotitsa, to the contrary, has championed the region of Kyme, Pergamon, and Myrina.⁴⁷ Other scholars, however, have returned to the original hypothesis. Gaidukevich, while excluding the Bosporean kingdom on the basis of style and technique, admitted the possibility of some other north Pontic source;⁴⁸ Anne-Ulrike Kossatz located Kirbeis in the Black Sea region, probably Olbia,⁴⁹ and the most recent discussion, in Catrinel Domăneanu's study of the moldmade bowls of Histria, declares agnosticism.⁵⁰

Reexamination of the problem can add only a little to the debate. It remains true that the overwhelming majority of published bowls were found on the northern or western shores of the Black Sea: many at Olbia, Histria, and Pantikapaion, and single examples at Mirmekion, Chersonesos, Tomis, and Tyras (Fig. 6.8).⁵¹ In all, 87% of the bowls that can definitely be attributed to the workshop and that have certain or reported proveniences were found there;⁵² if we restrict the data to only those bowls and fragments recovered in

87; Zahn 1908, p. 59, no. 13, fig. 13.

³⁴ Zahn 1908, pp. 62–63, no. 20, figs 20a, b; *CVA Schloss Fasanerie* [Germany 16], pp. 55–56, pl. 95 [784]: 1, 2; Courby 1922, p. 395, pl. XV:j (from Delos).

³⁵ Rostovstevf 1941, P. 600, pl. LXVIII:2; Zahn 1908, pp. 62–65, nos. 20, 21, figs 20a, b, 21a, b.

³⁶ I owe this detail to Pia Guldager Bilde, who has been able to study many of these medallions first hand at Olbia and elsewhere.

³⁷ Loseva 1962, pp. 202–203, fig. 4:4, apparently inscribed KIPBEIAOΞ.

³⁸ *Mirmeki* II, pp. 79–80, fig. 87.

³⁹ Uvarov 1851, p. 55; Stern 1902; Courby, p. 411.

⁴⁰ Latyshev 1902, p. 141. More recently, Zgusta (1956, pp. 412–413) discusses the formation of genitives in -εἰ from names in -εἰς, giving examples from Pantikapaion, Gorgippa, Tanais, and Olbia (I am grateful to Jaime Cubera for this reference). The interpretation of the inscription as a genitive is based on the fact that this is almost universally the case used in signatures on moldmade bowls.

⁴¹ Zahn 1908, p. 50; Courby, p. 411.

⁴² Levi 1940, pp. 124–125.

⁴³ *Mirmeki* II, pp. 79–80, 114; Loseva 1962, pp. 201–203.

⁴⁴ Jentel 1964, p. 117; Ocheșeanu 1969, pp. 233–236; Kotitsa 1998, pp. 134–135.

⁴⁵ Bouzek 1990, p. 65.

⁴⁶ Hausmann 1977/1978, p. 223, n. 40.

⁴⁷ Kotitsa 1998, p. 135.

⁴⁸ Gaidukevich 1971, pp. 157–158, n. 108.

⁴⁹ *Milet* V, 1, pp. 136, 140.

⁵⁰ *Histria* XI, p. 117.

⁵¹ The map of Fig. 6.8 is based on earlier such maps in Bouzek 1990, p. 93, fig. 27, and *Histria* XI, map 19, with a few additions.

⁵² Even if we exclude from this the six bowls published by Zahn (1908) and the one illustrated by Rostovstevf (1941, P. 600, pl.



Figure 6.8. Distribution of bowls signed by Kirbeis.

controlled excavations, the percentage from sites on the Black Sea is 90%. The exceptions are three certain examples from the Aegean (Delos, Rhodes, and now Samothrace),⁵³ and two bowls said to have been found in Asia Minor.⁵⁴

Other than the unusual form of the genitive, best paralleled in inscriptions on the Black Sea, the name Kirbeis provides no clues; no other instance of the name has been reported, as far as I am aware.⁵⁵ As for the image itself, while it is not strikingly similar to the goddess of Olbian coins,⁵⁶ it is nonetheless true that profile images are extremely rare on moldmade bowls, and coinage is a likely source of inspiration. I know of a single example in Attic moldmade bowls, a medallion on a bowl of the workshop of Bion that seems certainly to derive from a coin.⁵⁷ Most of the closest parallels, however, are on other bowls found in the Black Sea region. Medallions of bowls found at Histria and identified as Pontic preserve a male profile with the signature

LXVIII:2), from the Vogell Collection, the figure would be 85%.

⁵³ Courby illustrates an example with the distinctive medallion, and mentions three more fragments closely similar in fabric and decoration, although lacking the medallion (1922, p. 395, pl. XV:j). Kossatz cites an unpublished medallion in Rhodes (*Milet* V, 1, p 136, note 648).

⁵⁴ Courby 1922, p. 408, n. 3 (a signed bowl in the Louvre); Brussels M 780, *CVA* Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], pl. 4 [142]:25 (said to come from Kyme).

⁵⁵ The only instance in *LPGN* is the potter (*LPGN*4, p. 191).

⁵⁶ Cf. *SNG-BM* I, nos. 534–549, pl. XXIII. Furthermore, the goddess with mural crown occurs as a coin type of many cities, both around the Black Sea (*SNG-BM* I illustrates examples from six other cities along its coasts) and elsewhere. None of the coins that I have seen bear much of a resemblance to the medallion.

⁵⁷ Rogl 2005. Courby reports another possible instance: a head of Herakles/Alexander on his *bols à glasure* (many of which are apparently Attic), also in his view derived from coinage (1922, pp. 352–354, fig. 74:d).

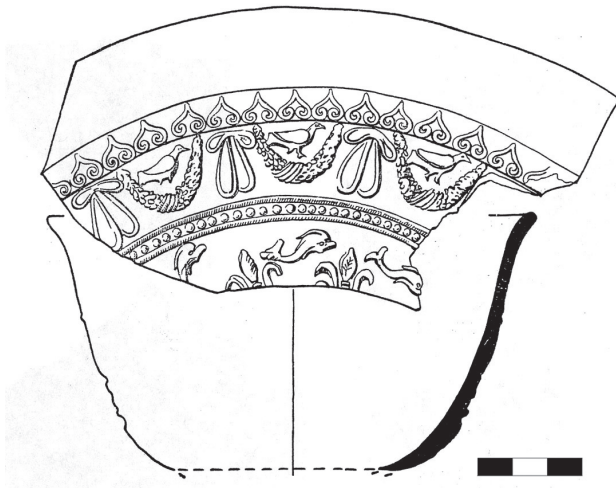


Figure 6.9. Olbia 685, possibly from the workshop of Kirbeis. After Levi 1964.

[Z]HNOΔOTOS and a small segment of an apparently female profile and labeled ΠΟ[.⁵⁸ Another profile turreted goddess was seen by Zahn on a bowl from southern Russia in the Berlin Antiquarium, labeled with the signature ΠΟΣΣΙΑΔΟΣ,⁵⁹ and a fragment with a profile, helmeted head inscribed [ΠΟ]ΣΙΑΔΟΣ has turned up on Thasos, decorated with a swirling acanthus similar to an acanthus on some bowls of Kirbeis.⁶⁰ Yet another profile goddess may be found on a bowl from Tomis signed with the unique name ZHNOΔΟΥΛΗΣ.⁶¹ Less similar is a profile male head, wearing a turban-like headdress, on a bowl purchased in Kushadası.⁶² The best comparanda, then, for the design of the Kirbeis medallion have been found in the Black Sea region. Although again it is possible that all are imports there, the name Πόσσις, otherwise unattested, occurs in inscriptions there.⁶³

Almost all attribution of bowls to the Kirbeis workshop has been based on the signed medallion. A few scholars, however, have attempted to attach bowls to the workshop on the basis of other stamps.

Thus, Marie-Odile Jentel has associated a fragmentary bowl from Pantikapaion in the Louvre with the shop;⁶⁴ and Zoe Kotitsa has argued that a bowl from the Vogell Collection and now in Würzburg should be added as well.⁶⁵ Although attribution on the basis of photographs and drawings alone is risky, I would venture to suggest a few more. The large, floppy bows that tie the ends of the swags on a fragmentary bowl from Olbia (Fig. 6.9) seem to be identical to those on a signed bowl (cf. Fig. 6.6.3).⁶⁶ The same bows, together with dolphins, swags, and a five-petal rosette familiar from Kirbeis bowls, appear on three fragments from Histria that Domănteanu identifies as products of Asia Minor.⁶⁷ Interestingly, all of these pieces also have proveniences on the Black Sea. It is surprising, however, that even though a great many stamps are documented in the published work of Kirbeis, it has proven impossible to associate more than a handful of objects with the shop on this basis. Many of the motifs are not particularly distinctive, but those that are cannot easily be paralleled in the published corpus of moldmade bowls.⁶⁸

Wherever the workshop was located, it was subject to a variety of influences, as is demonstrated by two

⁵⁸ *Histria* XI, pp. 122–123, nos. 604, 606, pl. 42.

⁵⁹ Zahn 1908, p. 68, n. 24; see also *CVA* Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], pl. 4 [142]:33, of unknown provenience.

⁶⁰ *ÉtThas* VII, p. 133, no. 11, pl. LIX:11; for the acanthus leaf, cf. Zahn 1908, pp. 60–61, no. 14, fig. 14b; Pharmakowsky 1910, cols 240–241, no. 4, fig. 34; and perhaps Levi 1940, p. 124, pl XXV:3.

⁶¹ Ocheșeanu 1967, pp. 228–232, no. 16, figs 23–27.

⁶² Günay Tuluk 2001, p. 64, no. 13, pl. 36. Male profile heads also appear as filling ornament (though not in the medallion) on molds from an unknown production center, perhaps but not certainly in Asia Minor (Künzl 2002, pp. 41, 45, nos. 71, 98, pls 147–149, 213–214).

⁶³ *LGNP*4, p. 288. A search through the published volumes of *LGNP* reveals Zenodoules to be otherwise unattested, while Zenodotos is a fairly common name, attested in cities of the Black Sea (seven examples, *LGNP*4, p. 143) and, especially, the Aegean.

⁶⁴ Louvre CA 2287, Jentel 1964, pp. 116–117. Her argument is convincing; in particular, the small leaves and dolphins of the bowl's upper register appear to be identical with those on signed bowls published by Zahn (Zahn 1908, pp. 62–65, nos. 20, 21, figs 20b, 21b).

⁶⁵ Martin von Wagner Museum H 4027, a complete bowl with a rosette medallion; Kotitsa 1998, pp. 133–135, no. 97, pl. 58. The bunches of grapes appear to come from the same stamp as those on a signed bowl (Schloss Fasanerie 248, *CVA* Schloss Fasanerie [Germany 16], pp. 55–56, pl. 95 [784]: 1, 2).

⁶⁶ Olbia 685, Levi 1964, pp. 249–250, fig. 12:1; Bouzek (1990, p. 95, calls it a bowl of Asia Minor type). Compare Zahn 1908, pp. 64–65, no. 21, fig. 21b; cf. also pp. 62–63, no. 20, fig. 20b for a beaded border similar to that on Olbia 685.

⁶⁷ *Histria* XI, pp. 92–93, nos. 444, 446, 447; cf. Zahn 1908, pp. 62–65, nos. 20, 21, figs 20b, 21b; Rostovtzeff 1941, p. 600, pl. LXVIII:2.

⁶⁸ For example, the rim pattern on one bowl and one moldmade amphora is a highly unusual stylized bud pattern (see Rostovtzeff 1941, p. 600, pl. LXVIII:2; Zahn 1908, p. 68, no. 28, fig. 28a). The best parallels I have found are from Antioch and Tarsus, but the match is not close (*Antioch* IV, i, fig. 10:3, 4, 6, fig. 12:17; Jones 1950, p. 222, no. 151, fig. 129).

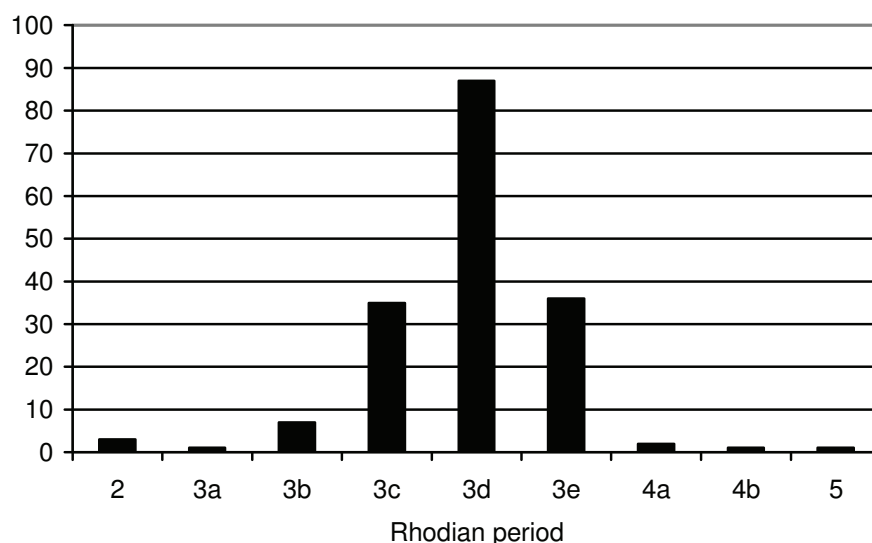


Figure 6.10. Chronological distribution of stamped amphora handles in the Olbia deposit datable to a single sub-period on the basis of eponym or fabricant.

moldmade amphoras with the Kirbeis signature. Hellenistic amphoras, whether moldmade or wheelmade, fall into two distinctive groups: the Pergamene, with strap handles and a splayed rim; and the Attic, with rope handles and an outturned or molded rim.⁶⁹ One of the two Kirbeis amphoras fits comfortably within the tradition of Pergamon: it has strap handles with rotelles at the base, a widely projecting rim, concave to the inside, and a heavy, projecting foot.⁷⁰ The other amphora, however, is a hybrid, combining the handles and foot of the Pergamene tradition with the outturned, molded rim typical of Attic amphoras of the second half of the 2nd century.⁷¹ This sort of eclecticism points to a place where both forms were known through import, but neither was at home; Histria provides an example.⁷² To my mind, provenience, nomenclature, and comparanda make a strong case for the northern Black Sea as a place of origin. If the workshop was located in Asia Minor, it must have been in a place where excavation has not yet brought large bodies of comparable material to light. It must also be a place with strong commercial ties with the cities on the northern and western shores of the Black Sea where Kirbeis bowls are most liberally attested.

A little more progress can be made on the date of the Kirbeis bowls. In 1964, E. I. Levi published a signed fragment of a Kirbeis bowl from a deposit at Olbia that also contained over 400 stamped amphora handles: mostly Rhodian, with a few Knidian and fewer Koan and Sinopean.⁷³ A revised chronology for Rhodian stamps has recently emerged from G rald Finkielsztejn's intensive study of the class. Most of the Rhodian handles in the Olbian deposit date within Finkielsztejn's period III (198–161 B.C.); two may be placed in period IV (160–146); the latest is a single handle of period V, naming the eponym Astymedes II, whom Finkielsztejn places in 144.⁷⁴ The Sinopean stamps upon which Levi based a deposit date in the later 2nd century are now placed much earlier, well before the latest of the Rhodians.⁷⁵ The Kirbeis bowl should be contemporary with the amphoras; in view of the fact that about 90% of the Rhodian handles that can be dated to a specific sub-period belong to periods 3c, 3d, and 3e (between 181/179 and 161 in Finkielsztejn's chronology; Fig. 6.10),⁷⁶

⁶⁹ For the Pergamene shape, see Sch fer 1968, p. 50, fig. 3, pls 17–20; for the Attic shape, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 120–124, figs 24–33, pls 39–45. For the distribution of each, see Rotroff 2002.

⁷⁰ Zahn 1908, p. 68, no. 28, fig. 28a.

⁷¹ Zahn 1908, p. 68, no. 29, fig. 29; Raeder 1986, pp. 204–206, pl. 37:3.

⁷² There, both Pergamene and Attic amphoras were found together in tomb XXXVII, of the middle of the 2nd century (*Histria* II, p. 412, pls 95, 96). A similar hybrid (wheelmade, not moldmade) has been found at Olbia (Belin de Ballu 1972, pl. XXXIX:3).

⁷³ Levi 1964, p. 252, fig. 13:3; another bowl possibly from the workshop was also found in this context (pp. 249–250, fig. 12:1). For the amphoras, see pp. 261–274.

⁷⁴ Finkielsztejn 2001; see pp. 192–195, tables 19–21.

⁷⁵ Conovici dates the end of the Sinopean sequence to ca. 190 (Conovici 2005, p. 101; *Histria* VIII, 2, p. 51).

⁷⁶ 173 of the Rhodian handles either preserve the name of the eponym or are stamped by a fabricant whose activity is limited to a single sub-period. The 18 Knidian handles (Levi 1964, pp. 273–274) fall in periods III and IV (220–146 B.C., according to the

a date in the second quarter of the 2nd century seems likely for the bowl, though a date as late as ca. 144 is, of course, possible. Another clue indicates, however, that Kirbeis bowls continued to be produced in the second half of the century, for the molded rim of the amphora discussed above is not documented before the third quarter of the 2nd century.⁷⁷

Close examination of the bowls themselves, with special attention to fabric, will be necessary before further conclusions can be drawn. For the present, we can conclude, from the remarkable variety within the corpus, that the workshop was either large and long-lived, or that more than one shop stamped its bowls with the Kirbeis medallion. The floruit of production was in the 2nd century, beginning before ca. 144 (and probably well before) and continuing into its second half. The location of the shop must remain a question, pending decisive new information from excavation; at the moment, however, the northwest coast of the Black Sea is the most likely candidate.

Vessels from the Workshop of Kirbeis

This catalogue builds on that of Bouzek (1990, pp. 65–66), who lists 20 examples. I give inventory numbers where I have them. Publications that I have not myself seen are marked with an asterisk.

Olbia

1. Olbia 1681/35. Levi 1940, p. 124, pl. XXV:3 (medallion, calyx, and part of wall).
2. Olbia 327. Levi 1940, p. 124, no. 327 (no ill.).
3. Olbia 3. Levi 1940, p. 124, no. 3 (no ill.).
4. Olbia 326. Levi 1964, p. 252, fig. 13:3 (fr. of lower wall with small segment of medallion).
5. Pharmakowsky 1910, cols 240–241, no. 4, fig. 34 (intact).
6. Uvarov 1851, p. 55, pl. 19:14.
- 7, 8. *Moskva, Hist. Mus. Zapiski Imperatorskago russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva V, p. 383, with fig. (two examples).
- 9–11. Stern 1902, p. 98 (no ill., three examples).

And perhaps

12. Olbia 685, Levi 1964, pp. 249–250, fig. 12:1 (part of rim and upper wall). Bow, cf. Zahn 1908, pp. 64–65, no. 21, fig. 21b; beading, cf. Zahn 1908, pp. 62–63, no. 20, fig. 20b.

Histria

13. *Histria* XI, p. 118, no. 586, pl. 40 (medallion, part of lower wall).
14. *Histria* XI, p. 118, no. 587, pl. 40 (two fr., part of medallion and wall).
15. *Histria* XI, p. 118, no. 588, pl. 40 (wall fr.).
16. *Histria* XI, p. 119, no. 591, pl. 40 (medallion, small part of lower wall).
17. *Histria* XI, p. 119, no. 592, pl. 40 (medallion, small part of lower wall).

And probably (with stamps apparently the same as those on Kirbeis bowls)

18. *Histria* XI, p. 93, no. 447, pl. 30 (wall fr.), affronted dolphins with five-petal rosette above, above swag. Swag, rosettes, and dolphins are identical to those on Zahn 1908, pp. 62–63, no. 20, fig. 20b.
19. *Histria* XI, p. 93, no. 446, pl. 30 (wall fr.), rosette above swag. Rosette the same as that on *Histria* XI, no. 447.
20. *Histria* XI, p. 92, no. 444, pl. 30 (wall and lower rim): large bow tacking swag. Bow appears to be identical to that on Zahn 1908, pp. 64–65, no. 21, fig. 21b.

And perhaps the following. Nos. 589 and 590 were attributed to Kirbeis by Domaneanu on the basis comparison with the petal on no. 588; from the photographs, however, they do not seem to be identical. No reason is given for the attribution of no. 593; possibly the fabric is decisive?

21. *Histria* XI, p. 118, no. 589, pl. 40 (fr. of lower wall), lotus petal and beading.
22. *Histria* XI, p. 119, no. 590, pl. 40 (wall fr.), lotus petal and beading.
23. *Histria* XI, p. 119, no. 593, pl. 40 (wall fr.), kantharos.

chronology of Virginia Grace: Grace 1985, p. 31).

⁷⁷ See note 72 above; for the date of the introduction of the molded rim, see *Agora* XXIX, p. 122; the earliest instance comes from Thompson's Group D (p. 289, no. 436, fig. 30, pl. 43), a deposit that was laid down around 130.

Tomis

24. Constanța 5025. Ocheșeanu 1969, pp. 233–234, no. 18, figs 29–31 (nearly complete).

Tyras

25. Nicorescu 1924, pp. 399–400, no. 13 figs 19:b, 21 (medallion and lower wall).

Probably W. Black Sea

26. Constanța 19473. Ocheșeanu 1969, pp. 235–236, no. 19, figs 32–34 (intact).

Pantikapaion

27. Bouzek 1990, p. 108, fig. 32:9 (medallion).
 28. Loseva 1962, p. 202, fig. 4:1 (edge of medallion and lower wall).
 29. Loseva 1962, p. 202, fig. 4:2; Bouzek 1990, pl. 17:6 (medallion and part of lower wall).
 30. Loseva 1962, p. 202, fig. 4:4 (medallion), apparently inscribed KIPBEIΔOΣ.
 31, 32. Stern 1902, p. 98 (no ill., two examples)

And probably

33. Louvre CA 2287. Jentel 1964, pp. 116–117, no. 3, pl. XIV (part of rim and most of bottom missing; rosette medallion). Said to be from Kertch (p. 115). Attributed to Kirbeis by Jentel; dolphins and leaf seemingly identical to those on Zahn 1908, pp. 64–65, no. 21, fig. 21b.

Mirmekion

34. *Mirmeki* II, pp. 79–80, fig. 87 (about half preserved).

Chersonesos

35. Kosciusko-Valjuzinic 1902, p. 85 (no ill.).

“Southern Russia” (probably Olbia)

36. Zahn 1908, p. 59, no. 13, fig. 13 (intact).
 37. Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn 1304. Zahn 1908 pp. 60–61, no. 14, figs 14a, b; Zimmer 2005, p. 110, no. A50, fig. 30 (complete, mended in antiquity).
 38. Zahn 1908, pp. 62–63, no. 20, figs 20a, b (intact).
 39. Zahn 1980, pp. 64–65, no. 21, figs 21a, b (intact).
 40. Zahn 1908, p. 68, no. 28, figs 28a, b, amphora (intact).
 41. Tübingen 2122. Zahn 1908, p. 68, no. 29, fig. 29; Raeder 1986, pp. 204–206, pl. 37:3 (amphora; intact).
 42. Rostovtzeff 1941, p. 600, pl. LXVIII:2 (complete?).

And perhaps

43. Würzburg H 4027. Zahn 1908, p. 59, no. 11, figs 11a, b = Kotitsa 1998, pp. 133–135, no. 97, pl. 58 (complete; rosette medallion). Attributed to Kirbeis by Kotitsa; grape bunches appear identical to those on Schloss Fasanerie 248, *CVA* Schloss Fasanerie [Germany 16], pp. 55–56, pl. 95 [784]: 1, 2.

Kyme

44. Brussels M 780. *CVA* Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], pl. 4 [142]:25 (medallion and lower wall).

Asia Minor

45. Louvre, gift of Gaudin. Courby 1922, p. 408, note 3 (no ill.) (medallion).

Delos

46. Courby 1922, p. 395, pl. XV:j (medallion and lower wall). Courby refers to three more fragments of closely similar fabric, though lacking the medallion.

Rhodes

47. *Milet* V.1, p 136, note 648 (no ill.).

Samothrace

48. Samothrace 2000.6 (medallion and lower wall).

No provenience

49. Schloss Fasanerie 248. *CVA Schloss Fasanerie* [Germany 16], pp. 55–56, pl. 95 [784]: 1, 2 (complete).

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7. “Up Against the Wall”: Anta Design in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace

Bonna D. Wescoat

Greek architects developed several ways of finishing the end of a wall, to protect it structurally, bring distinction to its termination, and coordinate it with a colonnade. Although something of an architectural handmaiden in design terms, the wall end, or anta, nevertheless plays a pivotal role in knitting the sekos to the key visual signifiers of Greek architecture – the column in all orders, and the triglyph frieze in Doric design. Despite its role, the anta has rarely been the center of attention. In contrast to the myriad studies on all parts of the column, the elements of the entablature and all forms of roof cladding and decoration, not to mention architectural sculpture, the dissertation study of A. D. Brockmann some 40 years ago remains the only major study of this element.¹ Given its position, the anta is not a dominant visual component of peripteral architecture, but it assumes much greater importance in prostyle or in antis designs. The architecture of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods offers a brilliant array of innovative Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian prostyle facades, and in all of them, the anta plays an important visual and structural role in the transition from facade to enclosed space. Much new evidence has come to light on the antae of several buildings during James R. McCredie’s tenure as director of excavations. The Sanctuary of the Great Gods thus provides a good vantage point from which to observe the deployment of this underappreciated architectural element in its Hellenistic and Samothracian contexts. It is perhaps ironic to devote an essay on the wall-end to our honoree, author of the volume on the seamless Rotunda of Arsinoe. However, I feel some justification in the fact that the setting line for the anta provided a key fixed point for Jim McCredie’s reconstruction of the Hall of Choral Dancers’ remarkable design. Being a generous man, I feel certain he will welcome and find fitting that I also offer this essay in honor of the late architects, Alfred Frazer, John Kurtich, and Nicholas Ohly, who worked so congenially and profitably with Jim McCredie in defining our current architectural understanding of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace.

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods remained a vibrant but local religious center until the second half of the 4th century, when the interests of Macedonian royalty brought the Sanctuary rapidly to prominence in the international arena. Nearly a dozen buildings were built in quick succession between the late 4th and late 3rd centuries B.C. (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3). Most of them are marble, they all have unusual designs, and, with the exception of the Propylon of Ptolemy II and the Stoa, they lie outside the conventional typology of Greek buildings. A cursory survey of the buildings reveals the importance placed on the interior spaces, presumably designed to accommodate the activities of the cult. The prostyle plan was the design of choice because it most effectively allowed for fully developed columnar temple-front facades that opened into large, unobstructed interior spaces of variable length. The Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV and the Hieron, both hexastyle, are among the shortest and the longest Doric structures, respectively, to employ this plan.² The prostyle design could be employed to knit structures together, as in the Hall of Choral Dancers, in which an Ionic winged prostōon forms the unified prostyle facade for two deep chambers of unequal depth and elevation³ (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 17; here pp. 27–30, Figs 3.28–3.33).

¹ Brockmann 1968.

² The Monument of the Bulls on Delos is even longer than the Hieron; see Vallois *AHHD*.1, p. 154, for overall dimensions. A new reconstruction of the Monument, with two returning columns in a fashion similar to the Hieron porch, is illustrated in Bruneau and Ducat 2005, pp. 191–193, no. 24, fig. 49.

³ Lehmann 1998, pp. 73–78.

Unfortunately, the anta of the Hall of Choral Dancers does not survive, but there is evidence for the antae of every other major marble structure in the Sanctuary, as well as for the Stoa and one of the small late Hellenistic buildings (Building 3) on the Western Hill.⁴ While Samothracian antae do not depart radically from the basic forms, they do provide some innovative and idiosyncratic examples of construction and manipulation in response to both technical and design challenges. The architects and masons constructing the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, for example, had to decide how to join a Pentelic marble anta to a Thasian marble wall. The builders of the Propylon of Ptolemy II had to signify a change in order, while those working on the Hieron or the Hall of Choral Dancers had to decide how to bring closure to the long wall surfaces of these buildings. In each instance, the architects and masons combined design ingenuity with a kind of technical practicality in which a paratactic approach prevailed, with the anta being set up against the wall more often than fully bonded with it. The technical choices, while not identical, reflect a consistency across order and material that provides evidence for a stronger local architectural tradition than the imported materials or international patrons might otherwise suggest.⁵

Traditionally, the anta is distinguished by slight projections (here called returns) that frame the face and a portion of the inner and outer sides of the wall.⁶ The design has its roots in the sheathing of wood planks that protected and reinforced the wall ends of mud brick, as, for example, in the Temples of Apollo at Thermon or Hera at Olympia.⁷ In stone architecture the design takes one of three basic forms that are closely tied to the overall design of the building: asymmetrical, square, or rectangular.⁸ All three forms are found in both orders, but the first belongs to Doric and the second to Ionic. In Doric buildings in which the columns are set between the walls (in *antis*), the canonical anta consists of a thickened end with asymmetrical lateral faces. The broader inner face is governed by the thickness of the entablature it supports and column it frames, while the narrower outer face is often coordinated with the width of the superposed triglyph. The front face of the anta is either equal to or slightly narrower than the inner return; its design can respond to resolutions for the corner triglyph conflict. Like the Doric column shaft, the canonical anta lacks a base; the form of the capital can be more or less elaborate but generally is composed of a projecting fascia, a hawksbeak molding, and an upper taenia or cavetto. The distinctive plan, in which the inner return is considerably wider than the outer, becomes the signature form for the Doric order in both peripteral and in *antis* architecture; the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina or the Sikyonian Treasury at Olympia offer fine examples of the type.⁹

The antae of early Ionic buildings lack returns, but in Classical Ionic design, the anta takes the conventional form of an enlarged square wall end with faces of equal width projecting on all three sides (e.g., the Temple of Athena at Priene).¹⁰ As in Doric peripteral design, the shape of the inner face of the anta responds to the width of the entablature it supports and the column it frames. Because in Ionic design the wall was aligned axially with the pronaos and with the peristyle on both the facade and the flank (and in addition there was no constraining vertical frieze element such as a triglyph), the front and outer faces of the anta were also coordinated with the aligning columns, thus creating a squared wall-end. The square form became so well-established that many late Classical and Hellenistic Ionic prostyle and in *antis* buildings of Asiatic Ionic design

⁴ Although K. Lehmann (*Samothrace* 4.I, pp. 21–22, 27, fig. 28, pls Ia, IVb, XXa) identified elements as part of an anta for the Hall of Votive Gifts, this material requires a thorough reassessment and is therefore excluded from the present study.

⁵ The distinctive style of the Samothracian *sima*, with "Skopaic" style lions and *rincaux* with three spirals has long been recognized, as have the strong links in the Doric frieze between the Hieron, Altar Court, and Stoa, or the Corinthian shared by the Rotunda and Propylon. For connections between Samothracian, Thasian, and Macedonian architecture, see des Courtils 1999; Wescoat 2003.

⁶ Martin 1965, pp. 470–485; Brockmann 1968, pp. 33–38, Catalogue C, pp. 154–158, Table 1; Lawrence 1996, p. 67.

⁷ Dörpfeld 1935, pp. 172–174, fig. 42; Brockmann 1968, pp. 24, 27–30, 149–150, 153; Mallwitz 1972, pp. 140–141; Barletta 2001, pp. 63–64, fig. 33.

⁸ In some archaic stone buildings the wall end is not thickened, e.g., early Ionic architecture in both the Cyclades and Asia Minor, also the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi; see Brockmann 1968, pp. 39, 56–59, 159–161. Doric examples of anta without responds include the peripteral Doric Temples of Apollo at Syracuse and Athena at Assos, as well as some smaller Doric buildings in the Cyclades; see Schuller 1985, pp. 342, 358, 364–367, figs 20, 32–33, 52.

⁹ Temple of Aphaia: Bankel 1993, pp. 65–70, 165–167, figs 33–38, frontispiece, pls 20, 54, 72, 77, 81; Sikyonian Treasury, Mallwitz 1972, p. 169, fig. 128. Very occasionally, the antae of Ionic buildings have uneven responds, e.g., the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis (also its twin, the Ilissos Temple): Travlos 1971, pp. 148–149, figs 203–206; pp. 112–113, fig. 156; or, the Nereid Monument at Xanthos: *Xanthos* III.2, pls XLIII–XLV, XLVII–XLIX, LIII–LVI, LXX, XCV.

¹⁰ For the Temple of Athena at Priene, see most recently Ferla 2005, pp. 86–95.

also adopted it.¹¹ The Ionic anta has a base (although it does not always match the profile of the columnar base) and its capital, like that of the order itself, reflects certain regional preferences. The favored Attic Ionic design consists of a series of tiered moldings, usually three in number and of ovolo or cyma reversa profile, separated by an astragal and crowned by either a taenia or a cavetto.¹² The Asiatic Ionic consists of a similar face but has volutes on the sides. When occasionally in Classical Doric design the pronaos is aligned with the flank colonnade and the entablature continues over the ptera (e.g., in the pronaos of the Hephaisteion in Athens or the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion), the outer respond is broadened to receive the superposed course, so that in plan the anta becomes square; it also can have a base molding, as in Ionic architecture.¹³

The third form of anta, a rectangular shaft, appears first in connection with the sofa-style capital, native to the Peloponnese, Ionia, and the west, and seen most clearly in the archaic architecture of Sicily and Southern Italy.¹⁴ The rectangular shaft became a popular form in both orders for prostyle designs without pronaos, because only the front face of the anta was constrained by the thickness of the returning entablature and the diameter of the corner column. The inner face of the anta did not have to carry an entablature or frame columns; the outer face was equally unconstrained.¹⁵ In Doric architecture, the rectangular design, with the anta aligned with the third triglyph on the flank, was especially effective for buildings in which the prostyle colonnade was framed by returning steps. It was also favored in buildings with walls that returned onto the facade to enclose a colonnade.¹⁶ Not surprisingly, the rectangular form found great favor in both Ionic and Doric architecture on Samothrace; the other forms, when they appear, are of special significance for our understanding of the buildings.

Samothracian Ionic Antae

The antae of the remarkable Propylon of Ptolemy II are well known, but there is additional material to introduce for this building, as well as new evidence for the antae of several other Ionic buildings, including the Milesian Dedication, Building A, the Ionic Porch on the Eastern Hill, at least one smaller monument from the area of the Western Hill, and an additional monument or building whose location remains uncertain.¹⁷ The surviving evidence for Ionic antae on Samothrace is remarkably consistent. All of the surviving anta bases are Attic Ionic in style.¹⁸ In the larger buildings (the Propylon of Ptolemy II, Building A, and the Milesian Dedication), the lower torus rests directly on the stylobate; in the smaller structures (the Ionic Porch, the structure on the Western Hill, and the additional building), a plinth is included. With the possible exception of the Milesian Dedication, the antae are set against walls that do not have a base molding.¹⁹ The surviving

¹¹ E.g., the naiskos of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma: *Didyma* I, pp. 104–107, pls 68–69, 71–73, 189–190; or the Temple of Zeus (possibly Asklepios) at Priene: Ferla 2005, pp. 114–118.

¹² Attic Ionic design: Brockmann 1968, pp. 70–79 and Catalogue E, pp. 163–66; Asiatic design: Brockmann 1968, pp. 79–86 and catalogue F, pp. 166–169.

¹³ Hephaisteion: Koch 1955, pp. 60–61, figs 73–77, pl. 41; Sounion: Martin 1965, pp. 478, fig. 223.

¹⁴ Roux 1961, pp. 383–386; Brockmann 1968, pp. 38–40; Barletta 1990, pp. 52–55 (sofa capital).

¹⁵ Brockmann 1968, pp. 38–40. This arrangement was worked out on the Propylaia: Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor 2004, pl. II. The Parthenon, which had neither columns in antis nor a triglyph frieze around the sekos, nevertheless retains a version of the Doric style anta with short respond on the exterior and broad respond continuing the full length of the interior face of the wall; see Orlandos 1977, pp. 315–318, figs 215–217, pls II, VI, VIIIa; Orlandos 1978, fig. 274 (opisthodomos); Korres 1994, pp. 84ff., figs 35–36; Korres 1996, pp. 46–47, 50–53, 72–73; Lawrence 1996, pp. 114–115, figs 167, 175; Barletta 2005, pp. 78–79, 84, 88.

¹⁶ Brockmann 1968, pp. 40–41.

¹⁷ This structure is documented by a corner fragment of the anta base, no. 69.331.

¹⁸ All of the surviving column bases are also Attic Ionic, including those from the Propylon of Ptolemy II, the Ionic Porch, and an unassociated monumental column base recently recovered from the central ravine, GAS 02.064. For the combination of Attic Ionic anta base with Asiatic column base, see Schädler 1991, pp. 275–277.

¹⁹ *Samothrace* 10, p. 154, for the Propylon of Ptolemy II, and this essay, for the design of the anta base from the Ionic Porch and Building A, which also precludes a wall base molding. The situation for the Milesian Dedication could be more complicated. An orthostate block (inv. no. M019) and a threshold block (inv. no. M003) found by the Czech excavators in the vicinity of the Milesian Dedication both have a base molding; see Bouzek 1985, pp. 18–19, 70–71, figs 7 and 38.5, pl. 21. The threshold certainly belongs to the Dedication. The orthostate could belong, but more likely is part of a monument in the vicinity. The moldings of the two blocks are not identical and they differ significantly from the remains of the anta base associated with the building here. The reconstruction of this monument is currently under consideration.

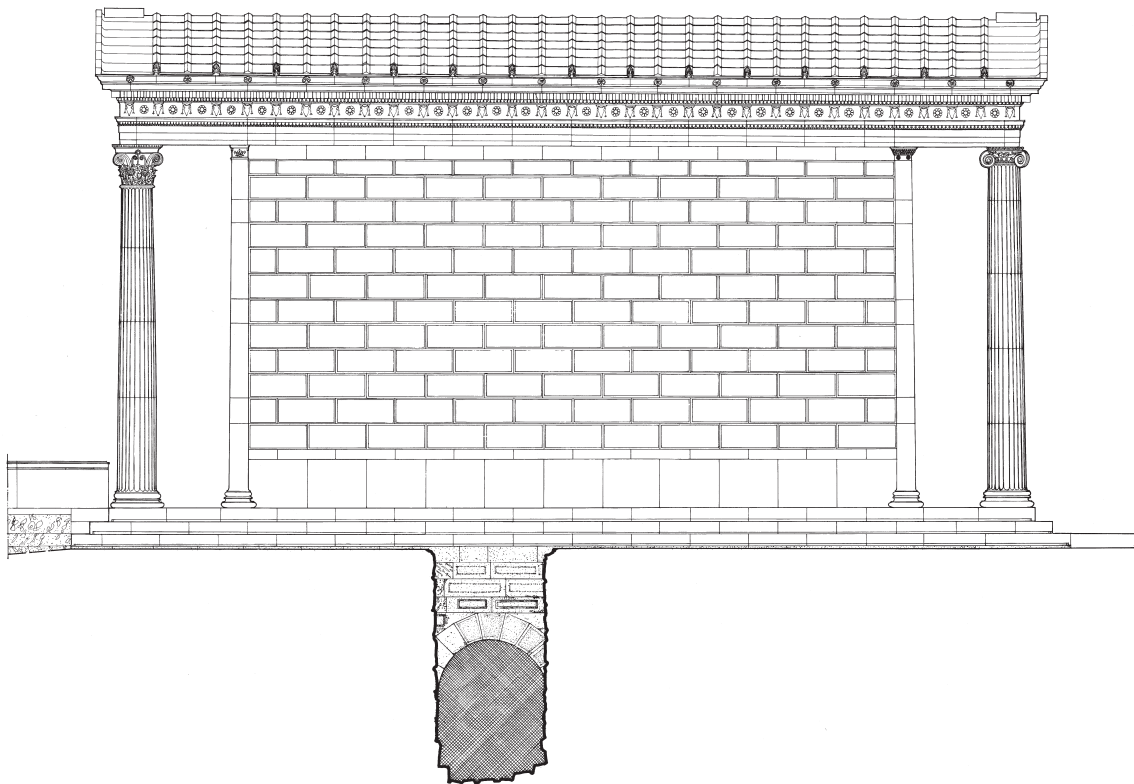


Figure 7.1. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Restored southern elevation, showing the western Corinthian and eastern Ionic facades with their respective antae. After *Samothrace* 10, pl. LXXXV.

Ionic anta capitals, from the Propylon of Ptolemy II and the Milesian Dedication, are also Attic Ionic in form and closely related to each other in decoration. The preserved shafts, from the Propylon of Ptolemy II and Building A, are both rectangular. While the basic design of the Ionic anta is homogeneous, the masons took several different approaches to its construction.

Propylon of Ptolemy II

The remarkable facades of the Propylon of Ptolemy II, built ca. 285–281 B.C., are bilingual in their antae as well as their colonnades (Fig. 7.1).²⁰ While on each side the wall ends are faced with rectangular shafts that rest on an Attic Ionic base, the capitals differ dramatically.²¹ A canonical Attic Ionic anta capital crowns the eastern Ionic antae, while a sofa capital decorated with griffins bringing down a stag adorns the western Corinthian side. The rectangular shafts are each composed of four tall, facing blocks that rise through either two or three of the isodomic wall courses, separated with binding blocks that tie the shaft to the wall at regular intervals. Both the vertical uprights and the binding anta blocks are well preserved; the evidence for their dowelling and clamping allowed Alfred Frazer to propose a reconstruction that in turn helped to establish the height of the colonnade (Fig. 7.2).²² While Frazer has presented both antae in detail in *Samothrace* 10, some of the smaller unpublished fragments deserve attention because they reveal a more complex building history for this monument than previously supposed.

Both types of anta capital now associated with the Propylon of Ptolemy II were known in the 19th century. In 1854, the German students O. Blau and K. Schlottmann saw the splendid griffin anta capital in a house in the capital village of Chora; the villagers reported that it was found in the vicinity of the “phylaki” or prison,

²⁰ *Samothrace* 10. For the initial publication of the monument as Ionic on both sides, see Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 35–45, pls XVII–XLVII.

²¹ *Samothrace* 10, pp. 55–57, 84–87, 91–93, 169–171, 179–192, figs 43–44, 62–65, 68–72, pls XXX–XXXVI, LIV–LVII.

²² *Samothrace* 10, pp. 55–57.

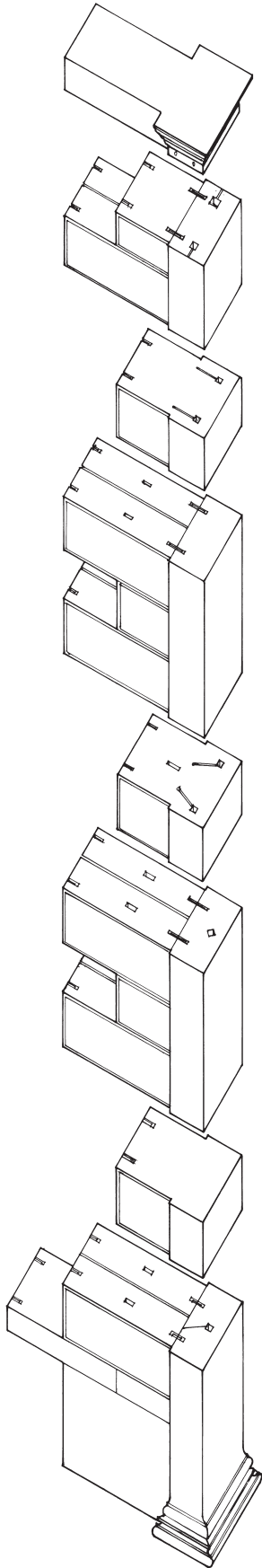


Figure 7.2. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Restored exploded isometric diagram of the southeastern anta. After *Samothrace* 10, fig. 43.



Figure 7.3. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Corinthian anta capital discovered in the 19th century, now on loan to the Samothrace Archaeological Museum. After Conze, Hauser and Benndorf 1880, pl. XLIX.

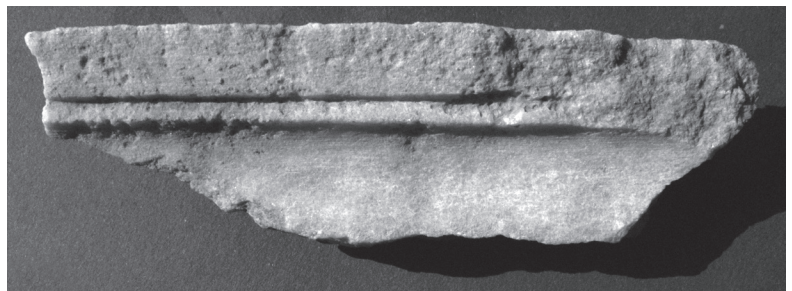


Figure 7.4. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Fragment of the crown molding of the Corinthian anta capital showing flattened ovolo profile; 66.476b. Photo Meredith Sattler.

as the Propylon was then called (Fig. 7.3). The griffin capital was taken to the Louvre but subsequently returned to Samothrace on permanent loan. The Austrians recovered a well-preserved Ionic anta capital during their excavations of the area in 1875 (Fig. 7.9).²³ It was, however, Jim McCredie who first firmly understood the relationship of the two capitals to the Propylon and its two orders.²⁴ Fragments of both types were recovered in the American excavations conducted during the 1960s.²⁵ In addition to providing crucial evidence for the mate of the Corinthian griffin capital, the new fragments helped to reconstruct features not preserved on the Louvre anta capital. A small section of floral tendril (67.599) established the reconstruction of the left face of the capital.²⁶ Fragments 66.476b and 66.459 demonstrate that the cavetto crown molding was finished with a small fillet and crowned by a flattened ovolo (Figs 7.4, 7.7).²⁷

Several fragments survive that can only be assigned to the second sofa capital. An important fragment (69.241) depicting the hind legs of the right griffin, part of the tail, and part of the narrow taenia

²³ The Ionic anta capital was unfortunately lost during shipment from the island to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The history of these architectural elements is recounted in *Samothrace* 10, pp. 84–87, 91–93. For the griffin capital, see also Hamiaux 1998, pp. 253–254, no. 290.

²⁴ *Samothrace* 10, pp. 91–93.

²⁵ For the American excavations of the Propylon of Ptolemy II, see McCredie 1965, pp. 116–121, pls 36–37; McCredie 1968, pp. 212–216, pls 62–63; McCredie 1979, pp. 2–6, pl. 2; Lehmann 1998, pp. 94–96.

²⁶ McCredie 1968, pl. 63d; *Samothrace* 10, pl. LV.

²⁷ The restored profile in *Samothrace* 10, pl. LVII, has a rounded ovolo.



Figure 7.5. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Hind legs of the right griffin, part of the tail, and the horizontal inner border of the sofa-like frame from the second Corinthian anta capital (69.241). Photo Meredith Sattler.



Figure 7.6. Propylon of Ptolemy II. A corner of the cavetto with the remains of the border of the sofa belonging to the second Corinthian anta capital (67.51). Photo Bonna D. Wescoat.



Figure 7.7. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Fragment of the cavetto crown probably belonging to the second Corinthian anta capital (66.476a). Photo Meredith Sattler.



Figure 7.8. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Fragment of acanthus leaf (64.294) belonging to the lateral face of the second Corinthian anta capital. Photo Meredith Sattler.

forming the horizontal inner border of the sofa-like frame clearly belongs to the mate of the well-preserved griffin capital (Fig. 7.5).²⁸ Based on findspot, scale, and general features, other fragments can be assigned to the companion capital as well, but they are not identical in detail to the well-preserved capital. A corner of the cavetto with the remains of the border most likely belongs to the companion capital (Fig. 7.6).²⁹ It differs slightly in having a narrow fillet at the base of the cavetto on the lateral face, but otherwise matches the profile and scale of this element on the well-preserved Corinthian anta capital. A fragment preserving the cavetto crown and part of the face also must belong, even though the preserved tips of the corner palmette are sharper than those on the well-preserved capital (Fig. 7.7).³⁰ Another small fragment with a half-round lower molding from which springs an acanthus leaf whose tips are defined by drill holes must also belong to the lateral face of the second anta block, even though the lower fillet is not clearly defined as it is on the well

²⁸ The unpublished fragment 69.241 was found in the ravine west of the Propylon. Fragment 69.242, found in the same area, preserves more of the inner horizontal border but no remains of sculpture.

²⁹ 67.51, found in the ravine to the south of the southwest corner of the Propylon.

³⁰ 66.476a, found with 66.476b, in the trench ca. 6–9 m south of the south foundation of the Propylon, and ca. 0.20–1.00 m east of the west foundation.



Figure 7.9. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Ionic anta capital found by the Austrian excavators; now lost. After Conze, Hauser and Benndorf 1880, pl. XXIX.

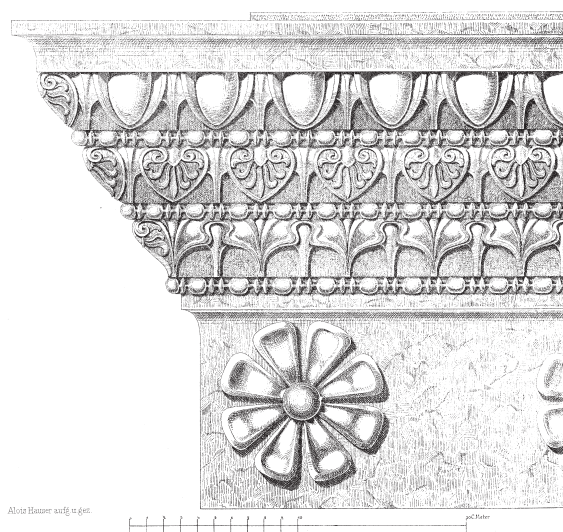


Figure 7.10. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Ionic anta capital found by the Austrian excavators. After Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pl. XXX.

preserved capital (Fig. 7.8).³¹ On the whole the differences are minor; they point up the degree of flexibility in rendering the architectural details but do not signal chronological distinctions.

The anta capitals associated with the eastern, Ionic side of the building have a different history. The Austrian excavators recovered a nearly complete binding block with an Ionic anta capital, which appears to have been part of the shipment to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum that was unfortunately lost (Figs 7.9–7.10). On the basis of their publication, however, the design and dimensions of the block are clear and can be set in relation to subsequent discoveries. The capital follows the Attic Ionic form in presenting the same profile on the face and sides. Its tiers of moldings include a cyma reversa decorated with Lesbian cymation, surmounted by an ovolo carved with pendant leaf and dart, an ovolo carved with egg and dart, and a crowning cavetto. The lower two moldings are framed by astragals carved with bead and reel. The upper portion of the anta shaft, which is carved as part of the capital,

bears four rosettes across the face and two on each side. The rosettes are made of eight unveined petals with broad, flat ends deployed around a central eye; they are oriented with the division between petals on the axis of the block. The petals curve gently from their centers toward the outer edge. Although the lower edge of the block is abraded, the right side appears to have been well preserved and without a lower border; none is drawn in the reconstruction.

Since the Austrian excavation, several fragments have been recovered that belong to the mate of the Ionic

³¹ 64.294, found northwest of the northern entrance to the tunnel of the Propylon. The fillet appears to be less pronounced in this part of the Louvre capital, too.



Figure 7.11. Fragment of Ionic anta capital 48.184. Photo Meredith Sattler.

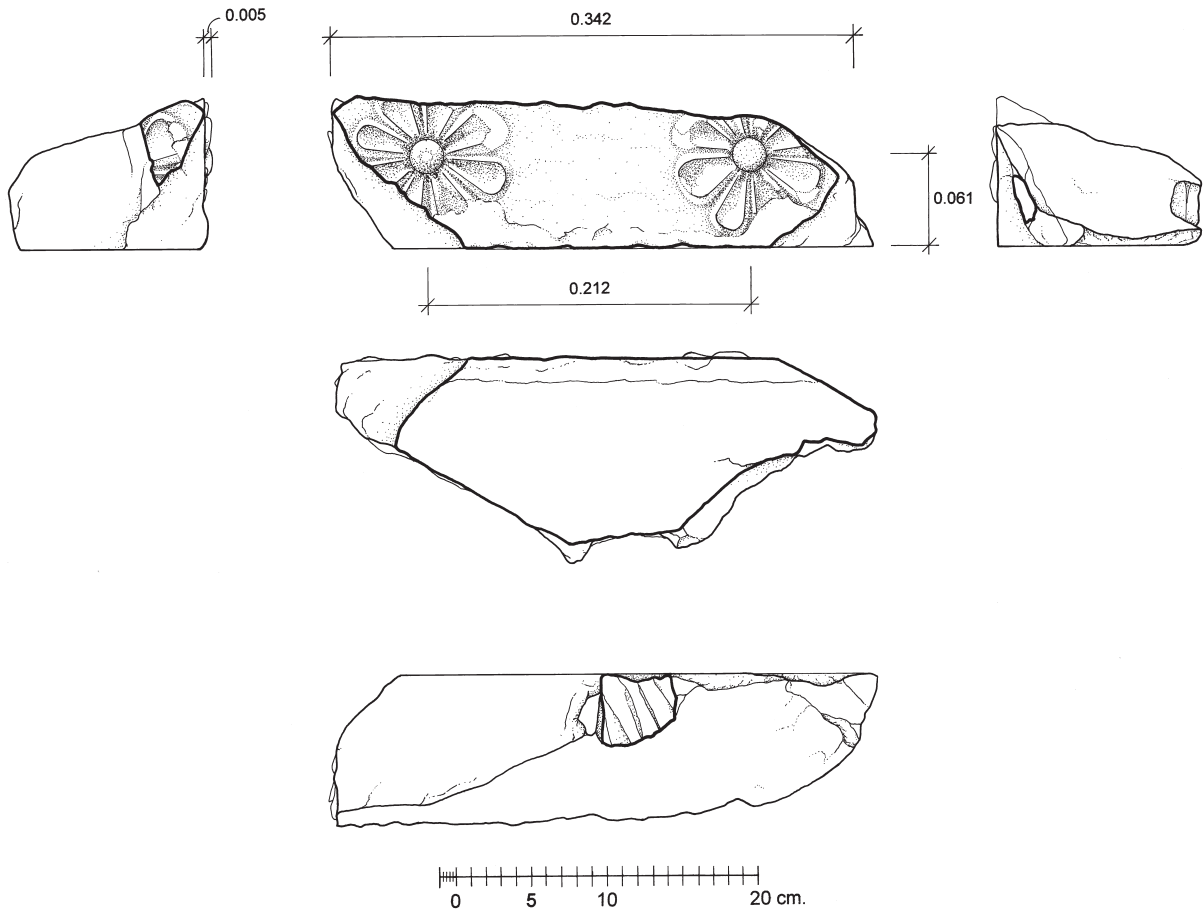


Figure 7.12. Fragment of Ionic anta capital 48.184. Drawing Leah Solk.

anta capital. The largest is a fragment of the fascia with two rosettes on the lateral face and part of another on the adjacent (front) face (Figs 7.11–7.12).³² While it is possible that it could belong to the anta of the Hall of Choral Dancers (near which it was found and for which there are no surviving remains),³³ the rosettes are the same scale, style, and orientation as the rosettes on the complete capital from the Propylon of Ptolemy II.³⁴ The rosettes are spaced ca. 0.213 m apart on center, which closely approximates the spacing of the rosettes on the side face of the capital found by the Austrians. Remains of the returning face preserved on the right side of the block indicate that the width of this portion of the capital is ca. 0.345 m, which again matches the dimension for the lateral face of the capital drawn by the Austrian excavators. The findspot remains the greatest

³² Fragment 48.184. Discovered by Stuart Shaw “outside section Y,” i.e. to the south of the Rotunda of Arsinoe. Diary 1948, p. 66. Lehmann 1950, pl. 1, for the position of section Y.

³³ An unpublished drawing indicates that P. W. Lehmann and D. Spittle originally considered but ultimately omitted this block from the reconstruction of the structure they restored as the Propylon to the Temenos.

³⁴ The radii of the rosettes are very slightly larger (0.049–0.057 m) than those in the reconstruction drawing of the Austrians (0.05 m). The uniformity of the rosettes in the Austrian drawing, however, suggests that they are approximated.

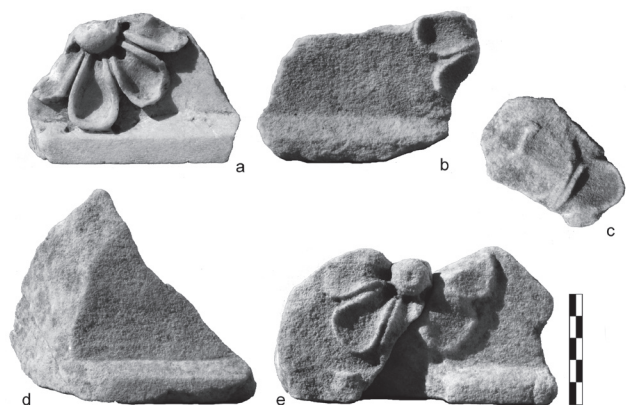


Figure 7.13. Fragments of Ionic fascia with rosettes: a. 68.558, b. 64.908, c. 68.588, d. 68.560, e. 68.321/68.564. Photos Meredith Sattler.

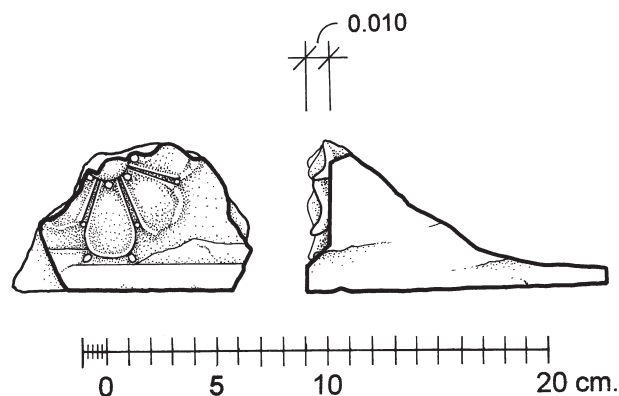


Figure 7.14. Fragment of Ionic fascia with rosette 68.558. Drawing Leah Solk.

objection to assigning the block to the Propylon of Ptolemy II, but it is a small and easily transportable fragment.

Numerous additional unpublished fragments associated with the Ionic anta capital were recovered during the excavations conducted in the region of the Propylon between 1964 and 1969.³⁵ While catalogued in the inventory as parts of the Ionic anta capital, they belong to two distinct types. Several match in scale and style the tiered moldings of the anta capital found by the Austrians and belong either to that capital or to its mate.³⁶ Other fragments, however, clearly belong to an element of similar scale and profile but of slightly different style. In this second group, the fragments preserving the fascia decorated with rosettes are the most readily distinguished by their lower border, which bears a projecting fillet with a smooth face but an irregular top surface (Figs 7.13–7.14).³⁷ Moreover, the rosettes on these fragments differ in size, style, and orientation from the ones on the anta capital. They have a radius of ca. 0.040–0.044 m, as compared to the radius of ca. 0.05 m for the rosettes on the block recovered by the Austrians. They are oriented with the petal, rather than the division between petals, on the vertical axis. These rosettes have a narrow, sharply raised border outlining each deeply cut, rounded petal. The centers of the petals curve more strongly downward toward the central eye and are finished with a deeply drilled hole. Additional drill holes define the juncture between the petals and set the lowest petal off from the lower fillet. The eye of the rosette has a small dimple. Every one of these features differs from the broad, gently curved petals with raised borders and flat ends appearing on the capital discovered by the Austrians and also found in the large fragment 48.184.

Although the differences are subtler, some of the fragments bearing the cavetto and the upper ovolo carved with egg and dart also differ from the design of the Austrian capital in having a curved undercutting around the egg (Fig. 7.15).³⁸ On a small fragment of Lesbian cymation, the tips of the leaves are more sharply pointed, the part of the leaf framing the eye has a finely worked rib, and the leaves themselves are more closely spaced than they are on the main capital (Fig. 7.16).³⁹ These fragments may be grouped with the fragments of rosettes described above to form a separate block.

³⁵ Alfred Frazer (*Samothrace* 10, pp. 84–87) mentions the recovery of fragments but does not discuss them.

³⁶ These fragments include 66.338 (corner of the block preserving part of the shaft, apophyge, and lower two moldings); 66.463 (corner of the block with apophyge, bead and reel, and corner pendant palmette belonging to the lowest course of molding); 69.297 (pendant leaf from the lower ovolo with and part of the superposed bead and reel); 63.1167, 64.1048, 68.756, and 68.757 (all of which preserve parts of the top ovolo carved with egg and dart molding and the crowning cavetto).

³⁷ 64.908 (preserving lower fillet and two petals of the rosette); 68.566 (preserving two petals of the rosette); 68.564/68.321 (joining fragments preserving the lower fillet, five petals and the eye of the rosette); 68.560 (preserving lower fillet); 68.558 (preserving lower fillet and five petals and the eye of the rosette). Fragment 64.908 was found ca. 3.0 m west of the northwest corner of tunnel entrance on the Propylon; the rest of the fragments were found ca. 13–20 m north of the north foundation of the Propylon, on the east bank of the ravine.

³⁸ These fragments include 64.930 and 64.931, as well as 68.767, which were found in the area north of the limekiln, ca. 20–25 m north of the north foundation of the Propylon.

³⁹ 64.537, from the area north of the limekiln to the north of the Propylon.



Figure 7.15. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Fragment of Ionic molding 64.931, anta capital? Photos Meredith Sattler.



Figure 7.16 (right). Fragment of Ionic molding 64.537; anta capital? Photo Meredith Sattler.

Most of the fragments belonging to this group were found either in the area immediately to the north of the Propylon, or in the area of a limekiln, ca. 20 m to the north of the Propylon on the eastern bank of the ravine. While the area of the limekiln also had remains associated with monuments from the Eastern Hill, the scale of the rosettes is too large to assign these fragments to the anta capital of the Ionic Porch.⁴⁰ There are no foundations or other elements to suggest that the fragments represent the capital to a votive pillar.⁴¹ They must be associated with the Propylon. Since the original two Ionic anta capitals are accounted for, these fragments, if they are part of an anta capital, might be a replacement of some sort. It would have been remarkable if the Propylon escaped unscathed when the monuments on the adjacent Eastern Hill were completely destroyed by earthquake at the end of the first century A.D. However, the style of the cymation looks contemporary with the original building,⁴² and the petals of the rosettes are close in form to those on the rosettes from the frieze of the building.⁴³ In reconstructing the eastern doorway of the Propylon, Frazer proposed that it bore a molded overlintel framed by consoles; although he identified no remains, he suggested that it might have resembled the molded anta capital.⁴⁴ Quite possibly, the set of fragments under discussion formed part of that overlintel. The bottom fillet would be unusual, but the rosettes (which Frazer did not include on the reconstruction drawing) have a fine parallel in the doorframe of the Erechtheion.⁴⁵

There is also new evidence to add to the base of the antae. Two surviving blocks associated with the eastern antae, blocks 228/561 and 90, demonstrate that the Attic Ionic base and a part of the shaft equal to the height of the lowest column drum, were carved in one block (Fig. 7.17).⁴⁶ The same technique was used for the column.⁴⁷ The better preserved of the two blocks belonging to the southeastern anta does not include the returns for the base against the inner and outer faces of the wall, which, presumably, were completed with small attachments bearing the molded profile. The block assigned to the northeastern anta retains only a small section of the base and shaft, but it, too, is assumed to have returns that were completed with small,

⁴⁰ The style is also different from the florals on the coffer lids belonging to the Ionic Porch, which have very little drill work; see McCredie 1968, pl. 70c.

⁴¹ As, e.g., suggested by A. Kizil and F. Rumscheid (2006) for the capital from Mylasa.

⁴² For the development of the Lesbian cyma, see Weickert 1913; Ganzert 1983; Rumscheid 1994, pp. 258–263.

⁴³ Compare *Samothrace* 10, figs 48, 49A–49G; note especially the sharp, raised edges and the deep counter curve of the petals. Several of the rosettes also have a drilled dimple in the center.

⁴⁴ *Samothrace* 10, pp. 121–122, fig. 78, pl. LXXXVI.

⁴⁵ Paton and Stevens 1927, pp. 98–104, pls XXV, XXXV.3.

⁴⁶ *Samothrace* 10, pp. 55–57; pls XXX–XXXII. Block 90 was found ca. 5.90 m north of the north foundation; ca. 8.10 m east of the west foundation of the Propylon. Block 228 was found 3.9 m south of the south foundation; 2.6 m west of the east foundation of the Propylon; and, the joining fragment 561 was found ca. 4.0 m south of the south foundation; 4.5 m west of the east foundation of the Propylon.

⁴⁷ *Samothrace* 10, p. 76.

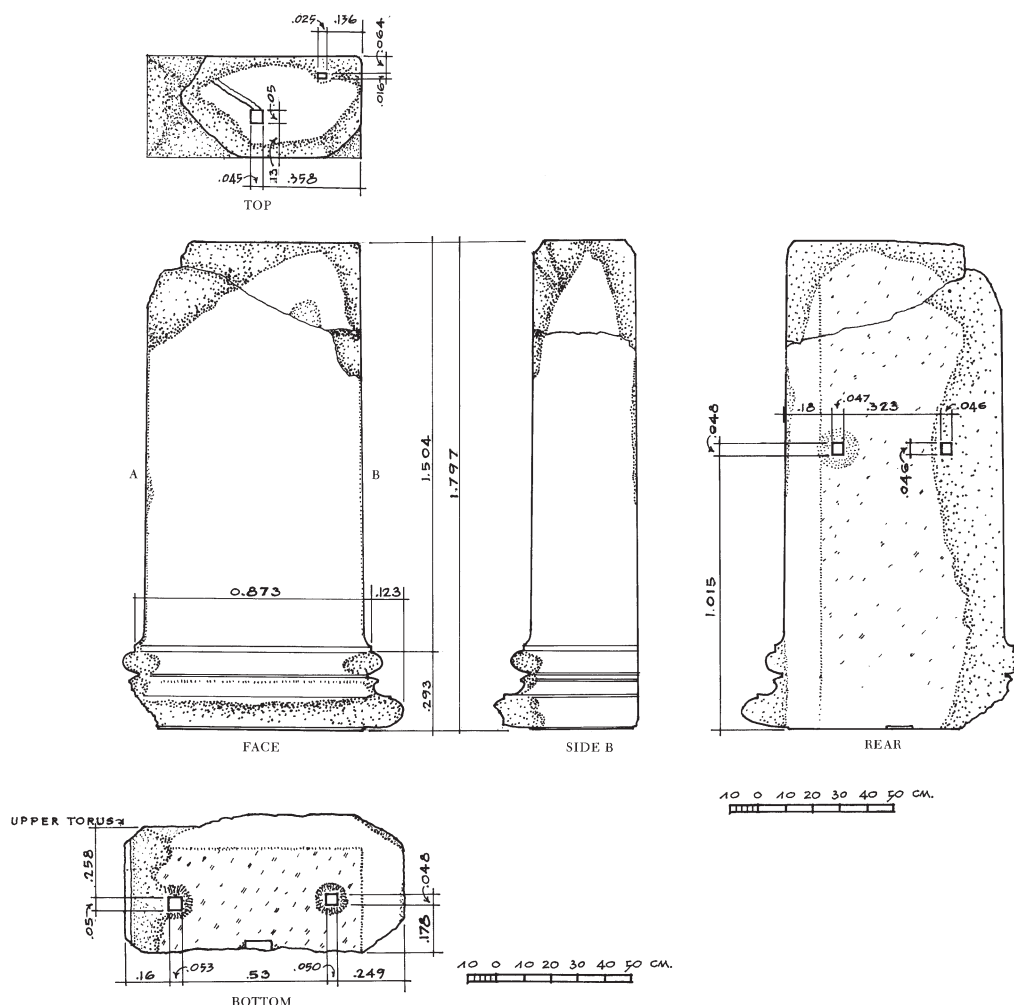


Figure 7.17. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Southeastern anta shaft block 228/561. After *Samothrace* 10, pls XXX–XXXI.

inserted blocks. While carving the base and shaft from a single block is not an economical use of the stone, at least adding the returns separately significantly reduced the amount of waste. Pinning the returns against the wall was a pragmatic solution, even if it was not the most secure kind of construction.

To these two large published blocks of the anta base we can add a small fragment, block 472, which forms the returning part of the Propylon's anta (Fig. 7.18). It preserves the lower torus and part of the scotia of an Attic Ionic base similar in size and profile to that of the Propylon, although adjusted so that the torus rests directly on the stylobate rather than on a relieving surface (Fig. 7.19).⁴⁸ The short, returning side, 0.185 m long, has a smoothly worked vertical face but no evidence of anathyrosis, dowels, or pins. While there is no question that the fragment forms the return of the Propylon's anta, with the vertically worked face set adjacent to the interlocking wall block, the other, now broken, side is too long, even in its incomplete state, to fit against the back of the anta base.⁴⁹ Instead, it must belong to a block in which the returns were carved

⁴⁸ The profile offered here differs from the one drawn in *Samothrace* 10, pl. LXXX.5, in the greater projection of the lower torus. Although the drawing on pl. LXXX is labeled anta base, it actually records the column base and is described as such in the text (p. 76).

⁴⁹ A word of explanation concerning dimensions is required. In the drawing of block 228/561 on pl. XXX of *Samothrace* 10, the dimension recorded across the lower fillet of the anta shaft, 0.873 m, is correct. However, the adjacent dimension, 0.151 m, records the distance from the face of the lower torus to the shaft of the anta above the apophyge. The distance from the fillet to the torus is 0.123 m. We checked this measurement several times on block. In favor of our revised dimension is the fact that Frazer's drawing actually matches the revised dimensions, as does the Austrian drawing in Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pl. XXVIII.2. The dimensions are corrected on our Fig. 7.17.

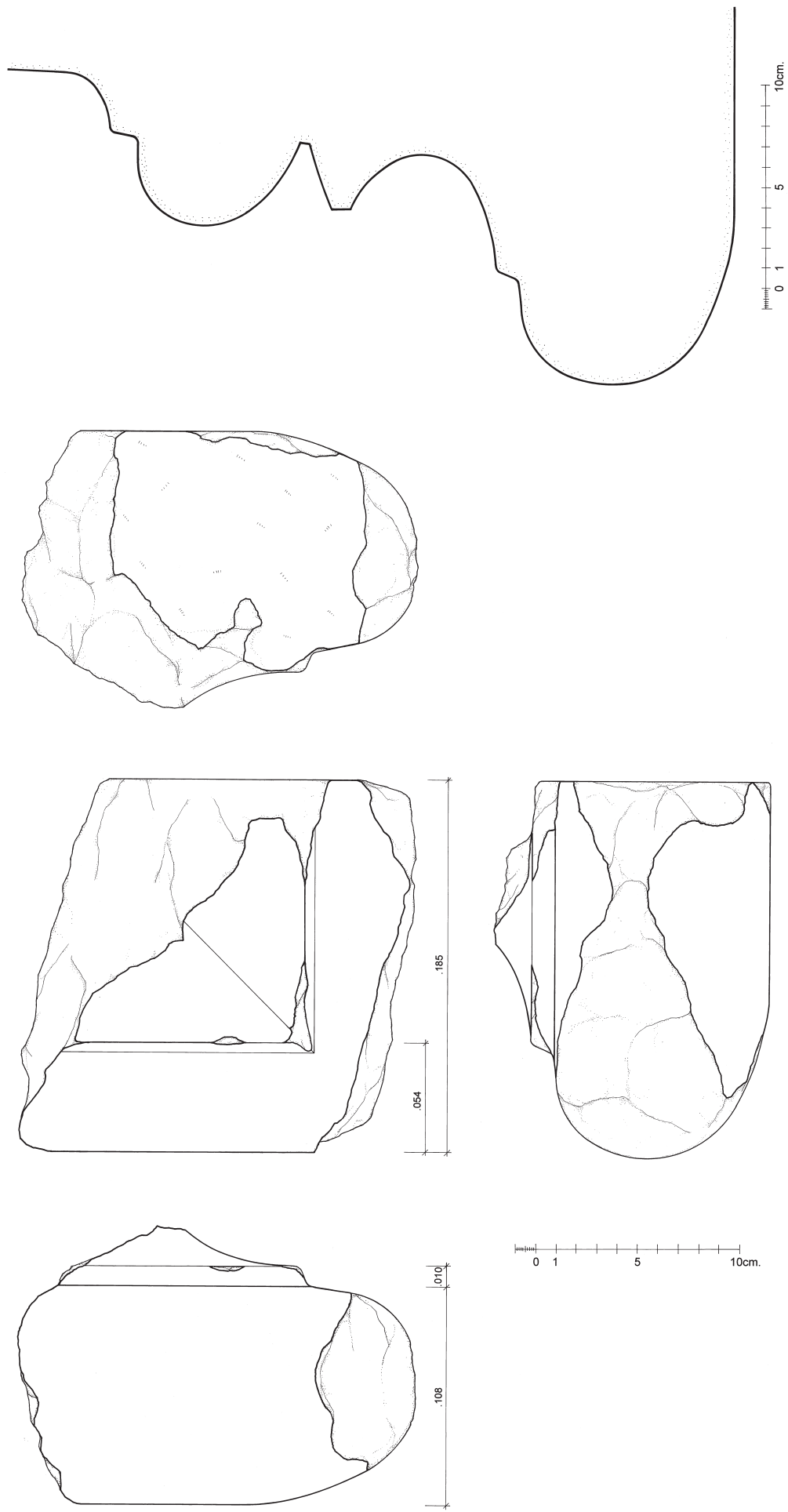


Figure 7.18. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Fragment of the returning lower torus of the anta base, 472. Drawing Yong K. Kim.

Figure 7.19. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Profile of the anta base. Drawing Yong K. Kim.

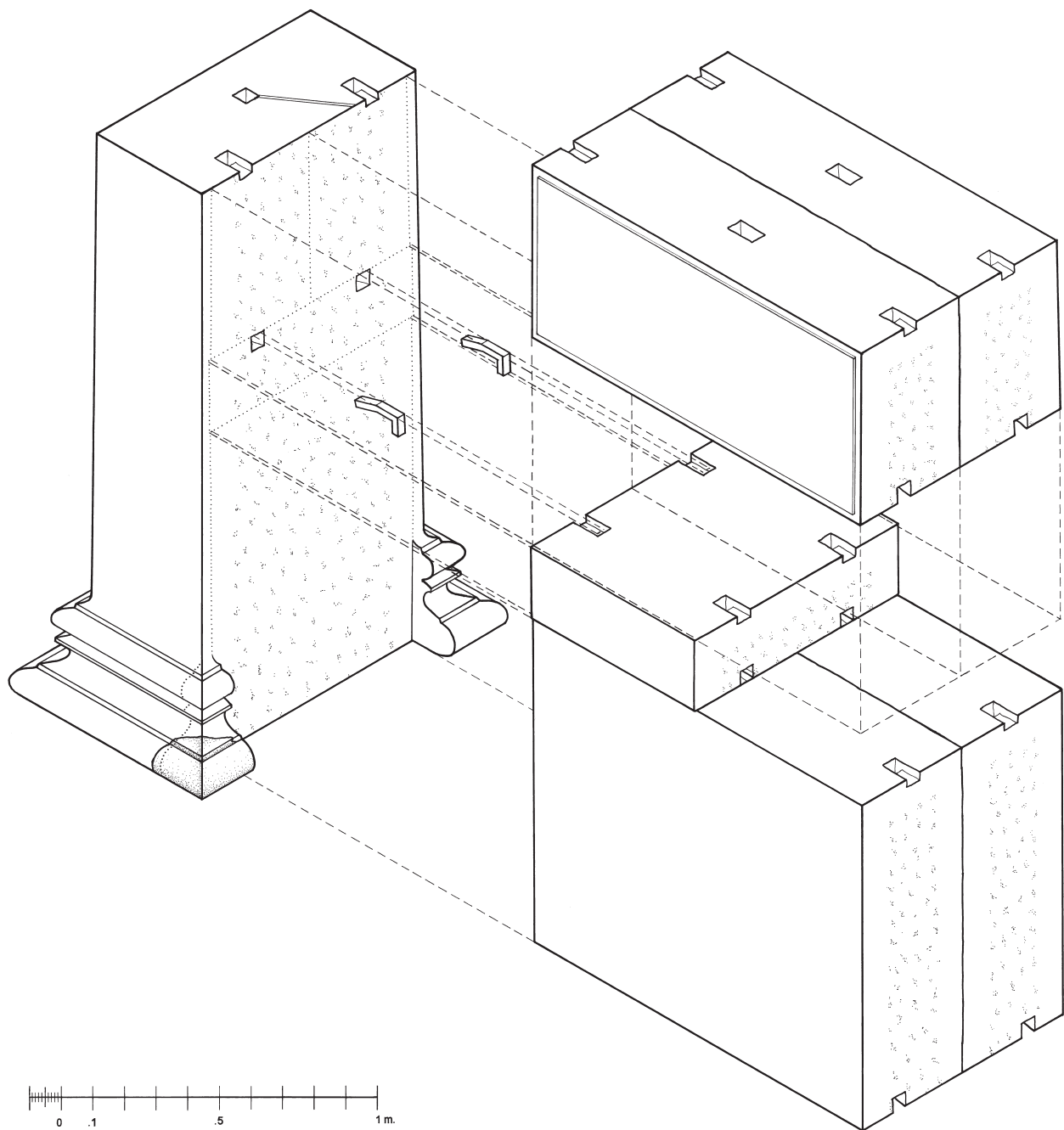


Figure 7.20. Propylon of Ptolemy II. Axonometric reconstruction of the anta base with fragment 472. Drawing Leah Solk.

together with the main part of the base and probably the shaft as well (Fig. 7.20).⁵⁰ Block 472 was found in the ravine to the west of the Propylon, where most of the Corinthian material was found. It appears that the Corinthian antae differed not only in the design of the capital but also in the construction of the base.

Building A

Although least economical of solutions, this form of construction may also have been employed in the enormous Building A on the Western Hill, which was begun slightly before the Propylon, in the late 4th or early 3rd

⁵⁰ This arrangement also helps explain why the face of the block set against the wall has broken at the vulnerable point where it turned to form the main part of the base.

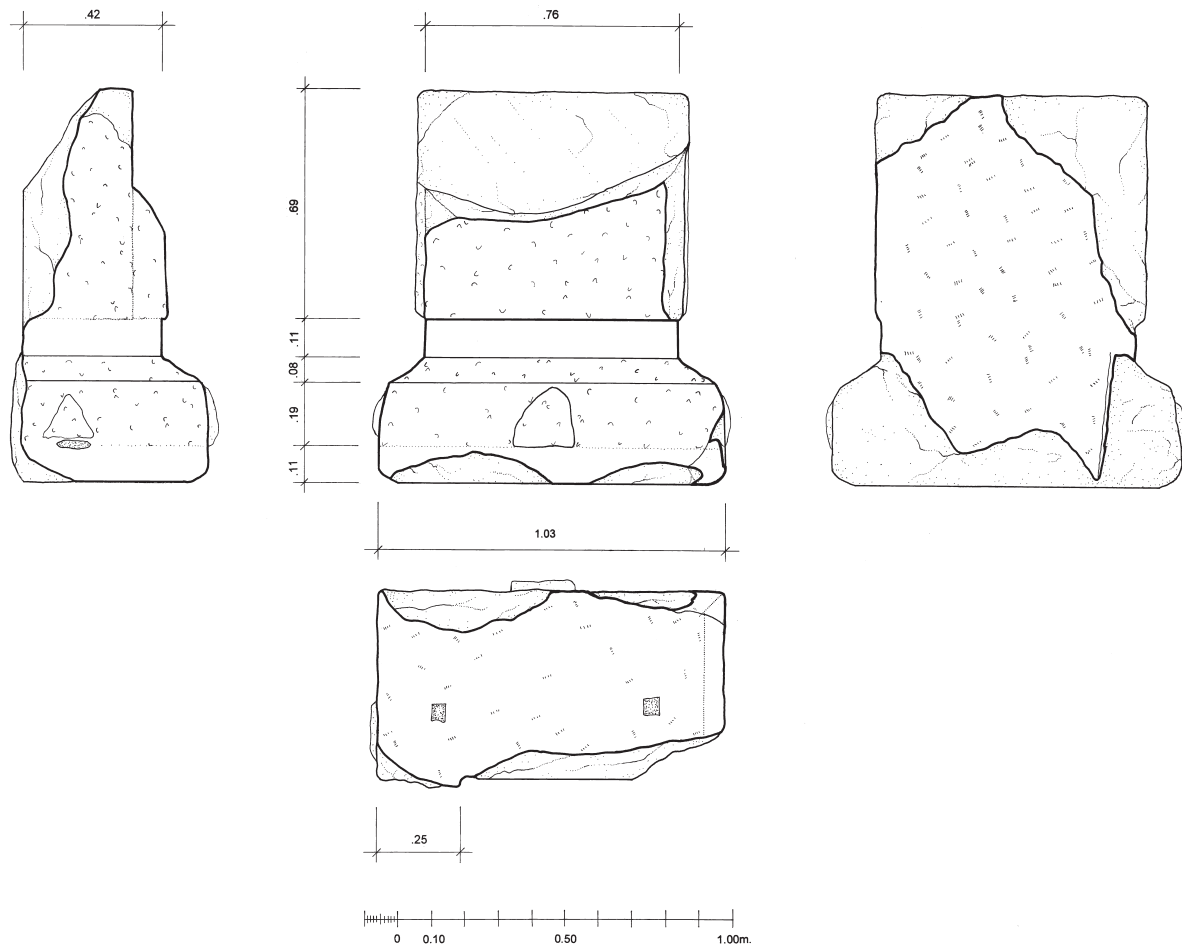


Figure 7.21. Building A. Southeastern anta. Drawing Ryan Leidner.

centuries B.C. The project was abandoned at the level of the unfinished anta base, but had it been completed, Building A would have been the largest building in the Sanctuary, exceeding even the Hall of Choral Dancers both in length and width.⁵¹ Its main chamber was flanked by northern and southern antechambers, each having Ionic colonnaded entrances set within returning walls that were to be finished with rectangular antae set on Attic Ionic bases. The Czech excavators who uncovered Building A found the unfinished southeastern anta base built into the east wall of the Byzantine fort not far from its original position. Like the anta from the Propylon, the base is carved with a significant portion of the shaft. A small fragment later found in the Byzantine fort completes the right corner of the lower torus. The Czech excavators drew the block without returns, but closer inspection reveals traces of both returns preserved on the back side of the block (Fig. 7.21).⁵² The remains of the inner return especially are more substantial than a protective mantle of stone left on an unfinished piece. While we cannot entirely rule that possibility out, it seems likely that the anta base, with its returns, as well as the first part of the shaft, was carved in one block. This type of construction is risky because the delicate returns had to be fitted around the abutting wall blocks. It makes some sense if the wall blocks were of a different material, and such may have been the plan for this enormous building.

⁵¹ Building A measures ca. 24.5 by ca. 35.5 m at the euthynteria, while the Hall of Choral Dancers is ca. 34 m long and ca. 23 m across the facade. For Building A in general, see Salviat 1962, pp. 291–293; McCredie 1968, p. 209; McCredie 1979, p. 27, pl. 12f; Bouzek 1985, pp. 46–53, 60–67, fig. 37.2; Lehmann 1998, p. 113. The sandstone column drums and wall blocks once thought to belong to this building are now assigned to the Ship Monument on the terrace to the south, Lehmann 1998, pp. 109–111, figs 49–52. Dimensions of Hall of Choral Dancers, Lehmann 1998, p. 73.

⁵² *Contra* Bouzek 1985, fig. 37.2.

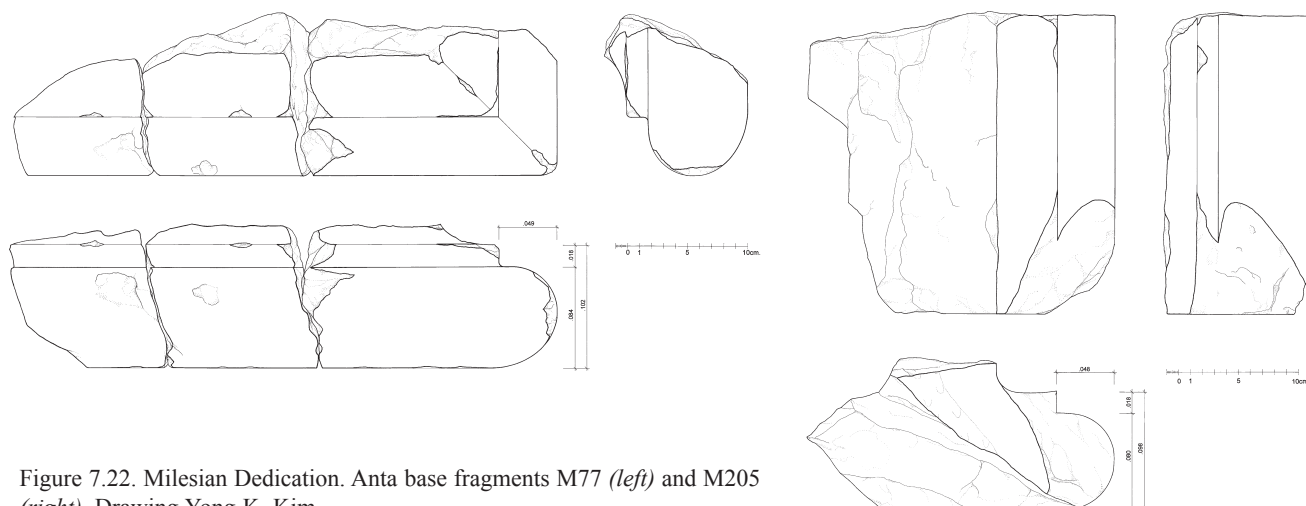


Figure 7.22. Milesian Dedication. Anta base fragments M77 (left) and M205 (right). Drawing Yong K. Kim.

Milesian Dedication

Immediately east of Building A stands a magnificent banquet hall dedicated in the second half of the 3rd century by a woman from Miletos (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 6).⁵³ The building is comprised of three chambers: an open Ionic hexastyle prostyle main hall flanked by nearly square side chambers. Off-center entrances and a raised perimeter around the floor confirm the function of the side chambers as dining rooms; the open main chamber must have served as a gathering place and staging area for the banquet. The configuration resembles the three-room dining suites within Macedonian houses and palaces.⁵⁴ Constructing the suite of rooms as a freestanding building with a monumental temple-like facade is novel.

The anta of this building is particularly important because it not only responds to the prostyle colonnade but also marks the intersection of the wings with the main chamber. Three joining fragments and a fourth of the base survive (Fig. 7.22).⁵⁵ All fragments preserve only the lower torus and part of the scotia, but collectively, they confirm that the profile was Attic Ionic and, like the profiles of the Propylon of Ptolemy II or of Building A, did not include a plinth. The three joining fragments (M77, 67.1926, and 67.304) preserve a corner and side of the base to a length of 0.45 m. The other fragment, M205, has a joint face on the left side and is preserved for a length of at least ca. 0.25 m. It most likely represents the outer face of the western anta, and was set directly against the south wall of the west wing.

The battered but crucial fragment of an anta capital recovered during the excavation of the Byzantine building constructed over the Neorion must also belong to the Milesian Dedication (Figs 7.23–7.24).⁵⁶ Only one face is preserved, but parts of both the top and bottom surfaces survive to indicate the complete height, 0.225 m. The surviving profile – three projecting tiers of moldings ascending from cyma reversa carved with leaf and dart, to ovolo carved with pendant palmette, and completed with ovolo carved with egg and dart, each framed by an astragal carved with bead and reel – closely matches the design of the Propylon’s anta capital (Figs 7.9–7.10). However, this block differs in four important respects. The overall height of the molded courses

⁵³ For the Milesian Dedication, see Blau and Schlottman 1855, p. 618; Bouzek, 1985, pp. 14–19, 30–34, 68–74; Conze, 1860, p. 60; Conze, Hauser and Benndorf 1880, pp. 102, 112, pl. 76; Deville and Coquart 1867, p. 274; *Samothrace* 2, I, pp. 126–127, no. 72; *IG* XII (8) 229; Salviat 1962, pp. 281–290; McCredie 1968, pp. 208–209; Lehmann 1998, p. 111.

⁵⁴ So-called “Flugeldreiraumgruppe,” see Heermann 1986, pp. 345–362, 526–527; questioned by Nielson 1999, pp. 87–88.

⁵⁵ The fragments were found scattered to the west of the Milesian Dedication in the region of intensive Byzantine activity. The corner fragment of the base, M77, was found in the area 6.0–11.0 m north of the south wall of the Byzantine fort, between the west foundations of the fort and Building A, i.e. in the region of Building 3. Fragment 67.1926 was found 0.0–11.0 m north of the south face of the south wall of the Byzantine fort; 0.0–5.0 m west of west foundation of Building A; i.e. also in the vicinity of Building 3. Fragment 67.304 was found in the French-Czech dump, ca. 0.50–8.0 m north of north foundation of Building A; 1.0 m west to 3.5 m east of west foundation of Building A. M205 was found 10.0–16.5 m west of the east foundation of Building A; 55.0–57.0 m south of the north foundation of Building A, i.e., amid the Byzantine construction on the terrace originally occupied by the Ship Monument.

⁵⁶ The capital, 88.23, was found in a trench 8–10.5 m west of the east foundation of Building A, 50.5–52.2 m south of the north foundation of Building A, i.e., in the western end of the Ship Monument now occupied by a Byzantine building completely composed of spolia. The base fragment, M205, was found in the same vicinity.



Figure 7.23. Milesian Dedication. Anta capital 88.23.
Photo Bonna D. Wescoat.

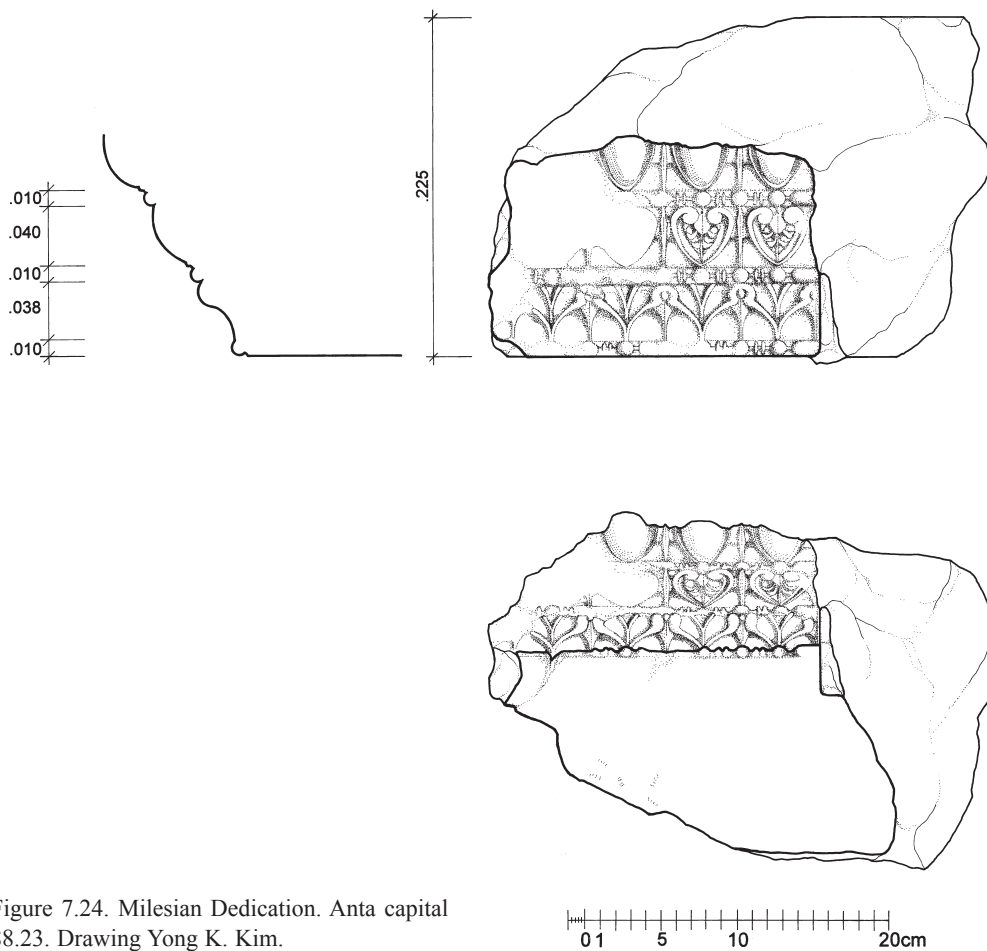
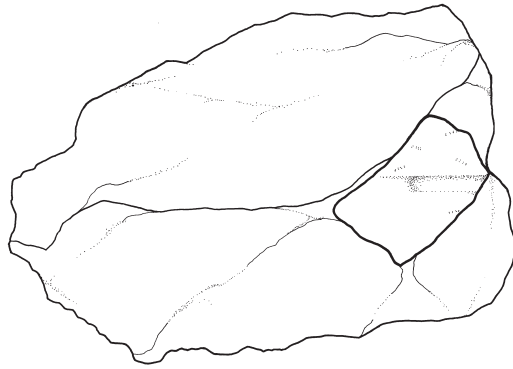


Figure 7.24. Milesian Dedication. Anta capital
88.23. Drawing Yong K. Kim.

is greater, with the difference chiefly in the now-lost crown molding, which was most likely a cavetto. The block does not include the fascia decorated with rosettes that completes the Propylon's capital. The point of the leaf in the lower cyma reversa coincides with the bead of the astragal, while on the Propylon it coincides with the reel. And most importantly, there is evidence that the Milesian anta capital had a reentrant angle, the remains of which are just visible along the broken right-hand edge.

Together with the surviving foundations and the remains of two important epistyle blocks, one from the southwest corner of the facade (02.11) and the other forming the southeast return for the porch (M195), the anta fragments demonstrate the critical juncture between the porch and the wings. The returning epistyle



Figure 7.25. Milesian Dedication. Provisional drawing of the reconstructed anta. Drawing Leah Solk.

proves the plan of the main chamber is hexastyle prostyle rather than tetrastyle in antis. The width of the foundation for the facade is not deep enough to allow for an anta wall. Rather, the anta formed a pilaster set against the wall at the juncture with the flanking wings. The reentrant angle on the anta capital marks the juncture between the capital and the wall of the east wing. The joint face of anta base fragment M205 originally abutted the wall of the west wing; the corner M77 could go to either side. Figure 7.25 offers a preliminary sketch of the reconstructed building.

Ionic Porch on the Eastern Hill

The masons chose yet another solution for constructing the anta base of the Ionic Porch, a small but elegant structure attached to the back wall of the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV on the Eastern Hill.⁵⁷ This small portico had both colonnade and walls, but whether the design was tetrastyle prostyle or distyle in antis cannot be determined. The Attic Ionic design of the base matches the large scale Samothracian Ionic anta bases, but in this monument, the base rests on a plinth. Three fragments survive, two of which preserve the plinth, lower torus, and lower part of the scotia (67.119 and 66.886a–c/66.817e,i); the third has the upper part of the scotia and upper torus (68.826) (Figs 7.26–7.27).⁵⁸ A dressed down surface 0.024 m from the face of the torus (and 0.082 m from the face of the plinth) marks the position of the anta shaft, which was carved in a separate block.

Block 67.119 clearly belongs to the projecting return of the base that originally abutted the wall. It not only confirms the presence of lateral walls (as opposed to pilasters attached to the back wall), but it also demonstrates that, like the other Samothracian buildings, the wall did not have a base molding. The other fragments must therefore also belong to the anta base. Block 66.886a–c/66.817e, however, has a vertical joint face, with a hole for the insertion of a horizontal bronze pin to attach it to the adjoining block. Possibly, the anta was carved in two segments that wrapped around the adjacent wall block and were pinned together in the center (Fig. 7.28, left). This form of construction is admittedly unusual, especially for an element that is not very large. Another possible explanation (although to my mind, less compelling) is that the base was made in one piece, and the block with the pin hole, 66.886a–c/66.817e, formed the support for a balustrade set between the anta and column (Fig. 7.28, right).⁵⁹

⁵⁷ McCredie 1968, pp. 229–230, pl. 70; Wescoat 2006.

⁵⁸ Fragments 67.119 and 66.886a–c/66.817e and i were found directly west of the Ionic Porch; 68.826 was found in a trench over the northern foundation of the Dedication.

⁵⁹ This arrangement appears in the naiskos dedicated by the Hermiastes on Delos, although the molded profile for the balustrade was

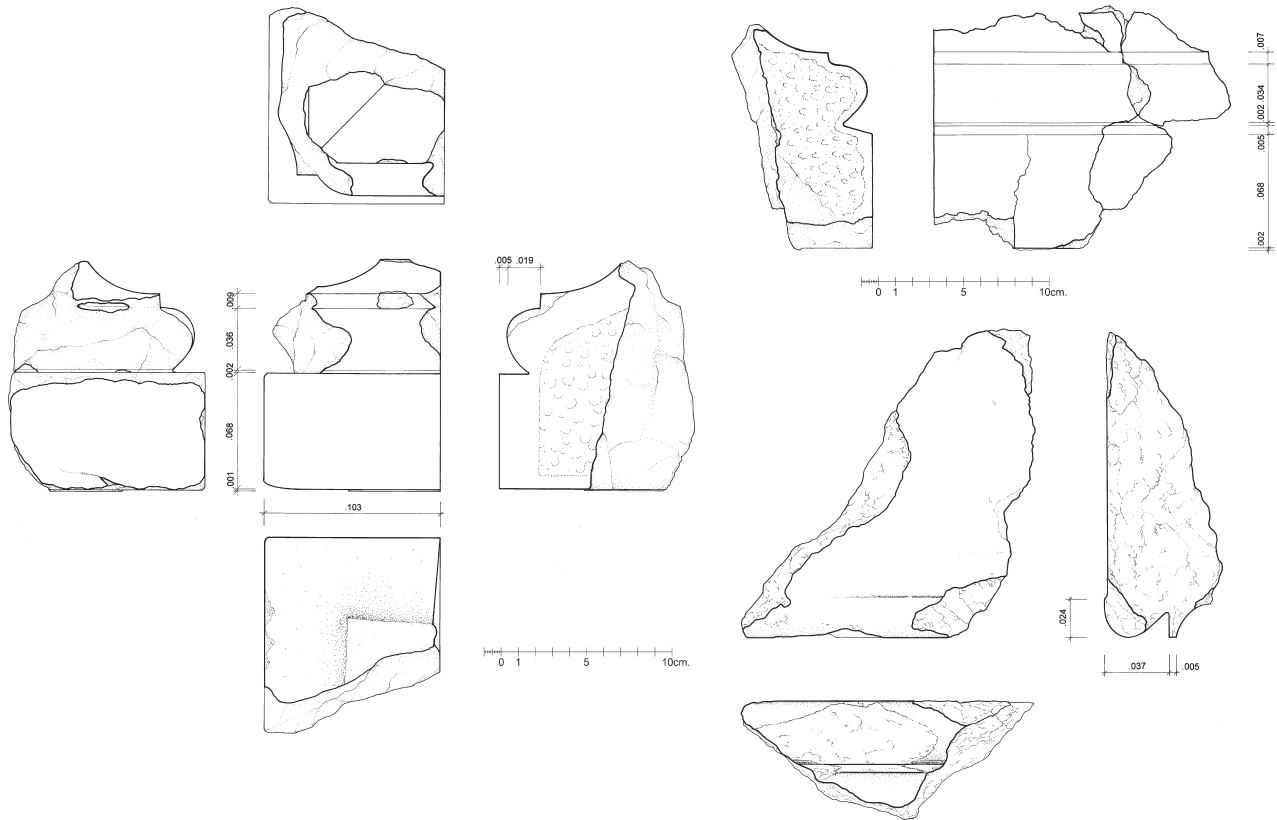


Figure 7.26. Ionic Porch. Fragments of the anta base 67.119 (left); 68.826 (right top); 66.886a-c/66.817e (right bottom). Drawings Jeannette M. Kuo and Ryan M. Leidner.

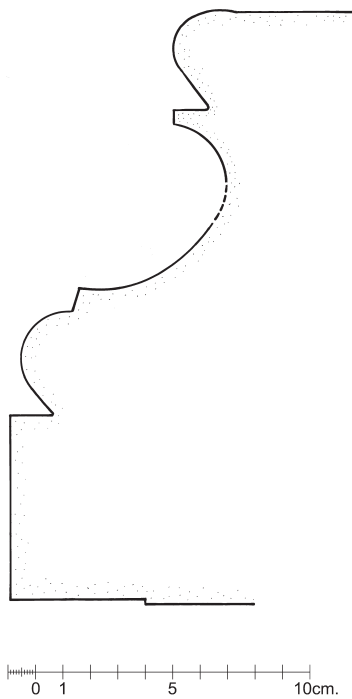


Figure 7.27. Ionic Porch. Profile of the anta. Drawing Ryan Leidner.

Unidentified Monument on the Western Hill

One additional Attic Ionic base deserves mention (Fig. 7.31). Two joining fragments, very similar in scale and design to the anta base of the Ionic Porch, have been found on the Western Hill.⁶⁰ Together the fragments preserve the entire return, demonstrating the way in which the base wrapped around the wall and supported the shaft of the anta. The fragments cannot yet be assigned to a building, but they may have belonged to one of the many large monuments that adorned this region of the Sanctuary.

Samothracian Doric Antae *The Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV*

In general, architects building Doric monuments in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace also chose to construct the anta shaft from upright blocks rather than as part of the wall coursing. How to unite the uprights to the wall of the building, however, was a matter of some urgency for the architect of the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, the

not identical to that of the column or anta base; see *Délos* VII.1, fig. 166, pl. XII.

⁶⁰ M202 was found 10.0–12.0 m west of the east foundation of Building A, 55.0–57.0 south of the north foundation of Building A, i.e. in the vicinity of the Byzantine establishment built over the Neorion. Fragment 86.1114 was found in the same vicinity although further to the west.

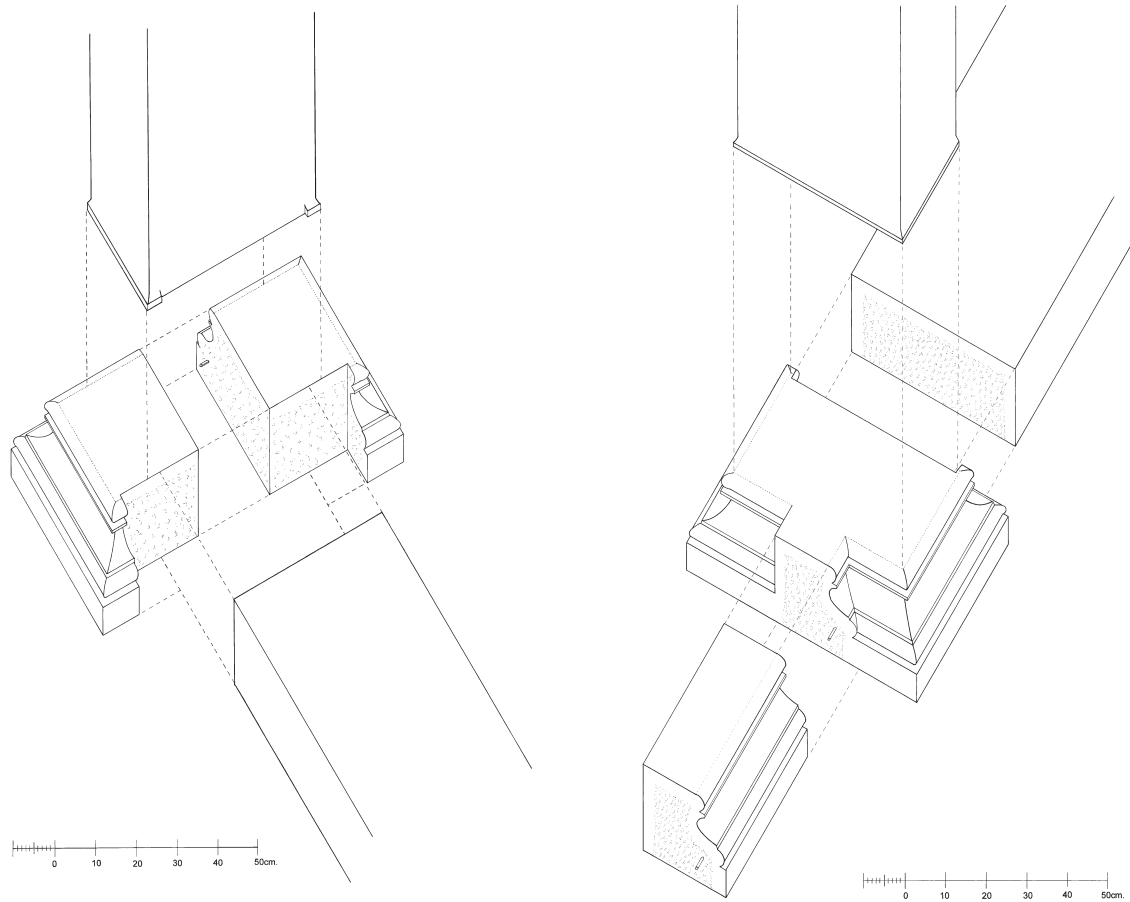


Figure 7.28. Ionic Porch. Two options for the restoration of block 66.886a-c/66.817e. Exploded plan oblique. Drawings Caitlin Swaim.

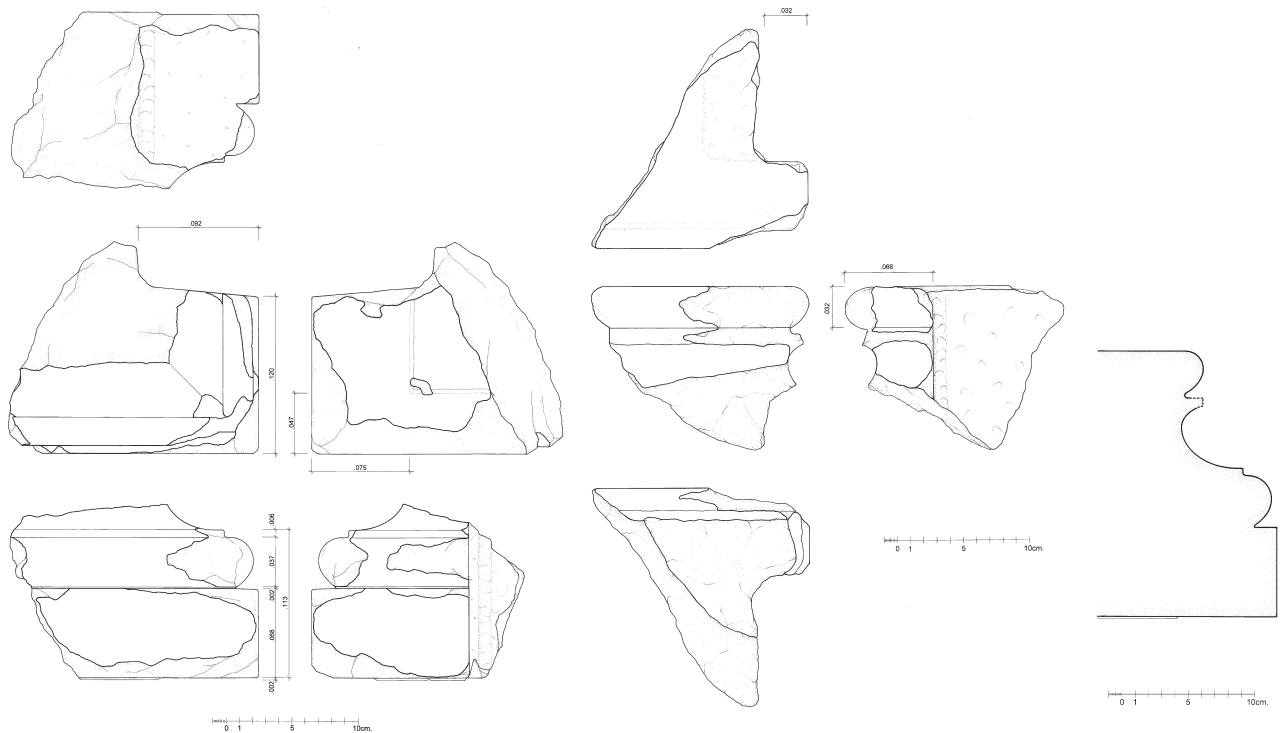


Figure 7.29. Reconstructed profile of Ionic anta base from the Western Hill, based on blocks M202 and 86.1114. Drawings Yong K. Kim, Ryan M. Leidner, and Leah Solk.

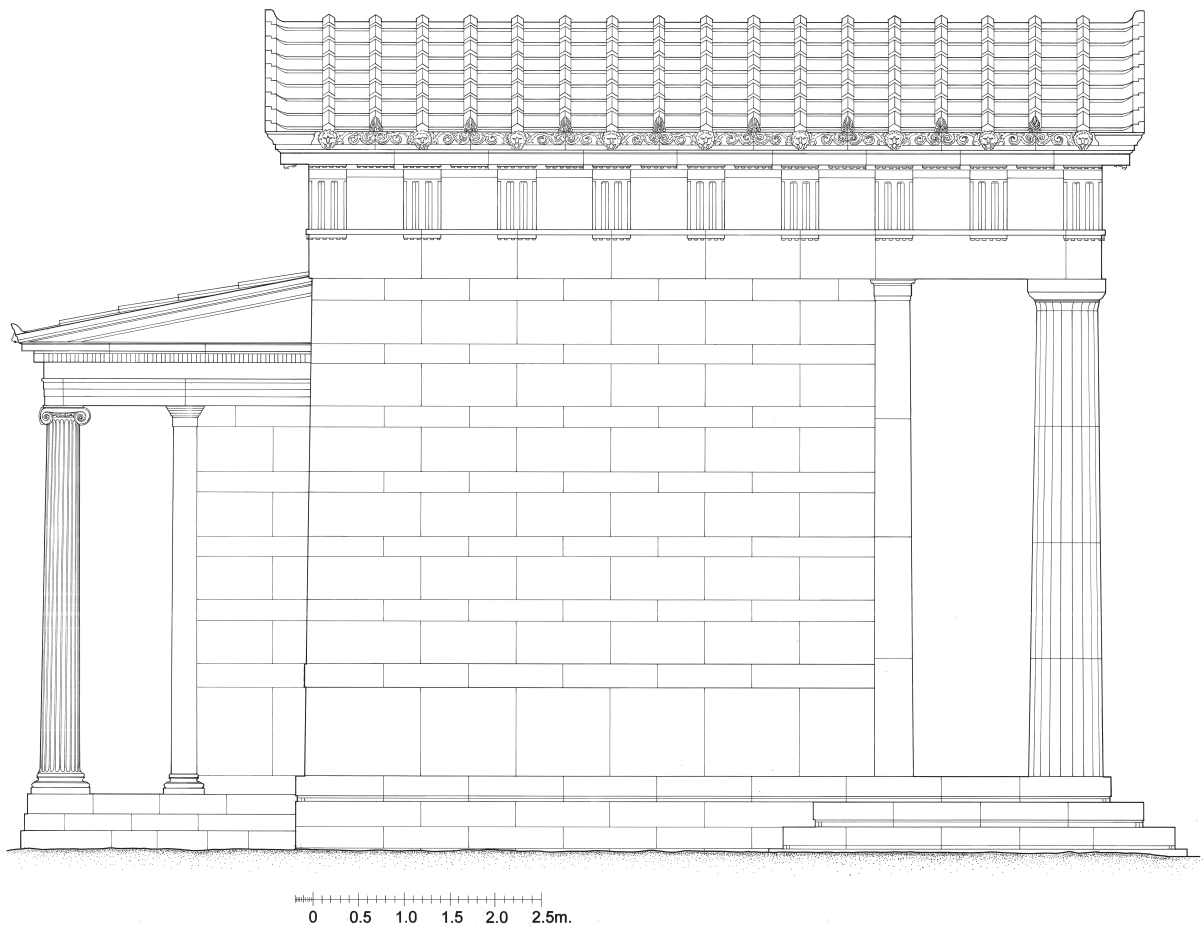


Figure 7.30. Reconstruction of the southern side of the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. Drawing Brian E Jan.

Doric hexastyle prostyle pavilion that crowns the bedrock outcropping adjacent to the Theatral Circle (Figs 7.30–7.31).⁶¹ Among its many distinctions, the Dedication combines a Pentelic facade with side and back walls made of Thasian marble.⁶² The transition between materials occurs at the anta, which has rectangular upright slabs of Pentelic marble set against the Thasian wall courses.

The visual difference between the two materials is striking and the architect chose to maintain their complete segregation, even at the risk of certain basic structural considerations.⁶³ Rather than have a Thasian binding block from the wall intrude on the fabric of the Pentelic anta or have a Pentelic binding block project into the consistently Thasian wall, the architect simply stacked the anta blocks up against the wall, joining the tall uprights to one another with pairs of rectangular dowels, in much the same fashion as the column. The surviving anta blocks are, in fact, similar in height to the drums of the colonnade; probably all four uprights of the anta shaft matched the heights of the four column drums, with some allowance for the difference in height between the column and anta capitals.⁶⁴ The first and third anta blocks, therefore, do not break joints

⁶¹ For the area, McCredie 1968, pp. 216–34; *Samothrace* 9, forthcoming.

⁶² McCredie 1968, pp. 225–228; Wescoat 2003, pp. 106–114.

⁶³ Each type of marble was accompanied by its own set of masons, but an architect must have overseen both crews and placed orders for both materials, determined how to build the anta, and decided where to switch from Pentelic to Thasian marble. Ordering binders for the anta would have been straightforward if that had been desired.

⁶⁴ Two nearly complete blocks (T112, T124/T138) and four important fragments (T125, T087, 01.005, 01.006) of the Pentelic anta survive. T112 and T124/T138, as well as the largest of the fragments, T125, certainly belong to the southern anta; block T112 in the top position, T125 in the third position, and T124/T138 in the second position. Only block T112 is preserved to its full height of 1.292 m, but T124/T138 is very close to the same height. The height of the anta capital is derived from the height of the epikranitis.

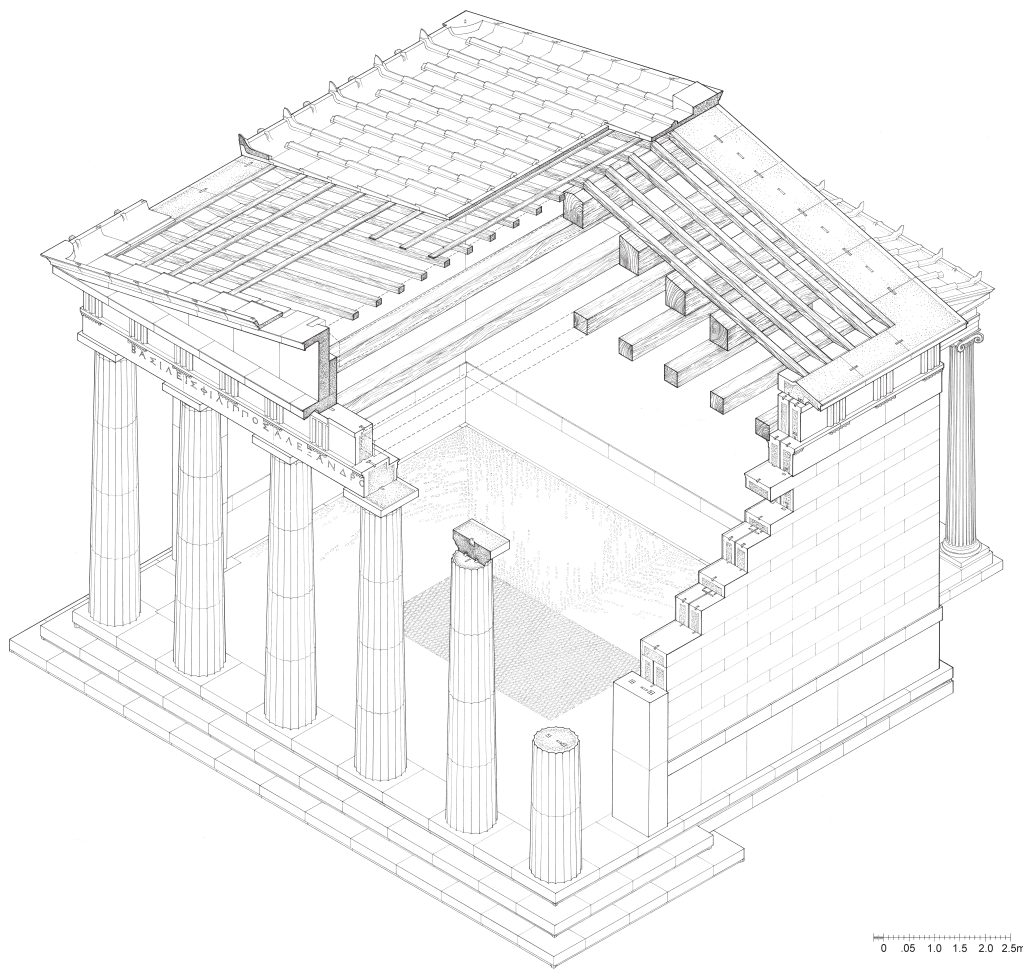


Figure 7.31. Axonometric cutaway of the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. Drawing Roger Chien, Jeannette Kuo, and Tetsuo Takamoto.

with the wall coursing and could not be secured with clamps across the top. Instead, the masons drove the end of a clamp into the back of the anta block to secure it to the adjacent binding block of the wall⁶⁵ (the same solution was used later in the anta of the Propylon of Ptolemy II). The tops of the second and fourth blocks are aligned with the top of a wall course and thus could be secured directly. Even so, constructing the anta without binding blocks at regular intervals was a precarious way to build; clearly, the desire to present an all-Pentelic facade overrode basic structural considerations.

Very little of the anta capital survives; a fragmentary block of Pentelic marble (66.787), crowned with a cyma reversa hawksbeak surmounted by a cavetto, probably belongs (Fig. 7.32). The cyma reversa hawksbeak was surely crowned by a cavetto, as it is in the anta capital of the Stoa or the pilaster capital of the Doric Round Building.⁶⁶ Whether or not it was bonded to the wall, as part of a binding course, remains an open question.

The lateral width of the anta shaft is derived from the width of the triglyph (ca. 0.42 m), with which it was

⁶⁵ The tell-tale cutting only survives on the back of block T124, but it is likely to have occurred at other intervals on the shaft, as it does in the Propylon of Ptolemy II, *Samothrace* 10, pls XXI–XXII. Compare similar technique used for clamping the drum of the Rotunda of Arsinoe, *Samothrace* 7, p. 32, pl. III; wall of the temple at Messa on Lesbos, Hoepfner 2001, p. 478, fig. 11.

⁶⁶ Stoa block V848, drawing S-194 by John Kurtich. Doric Round Building, *Samothrace* 7, pp. 262–272; pls LXXIX–XCII. Four fragments of a Pentelic crown molding consisting of a cyma reversa hawksbeak surmounted by a cavetto (66.791a,b; 68.1071; and 68.1057), found over and west of the foundations of the Doric Dedication, are of similar profile but too narrow to crown the antae. Instead, they must crown the large Pentelic stele originally set in stele base T150, just south of the Doric Dedication; see *Samothrace* 9, forthcoming.

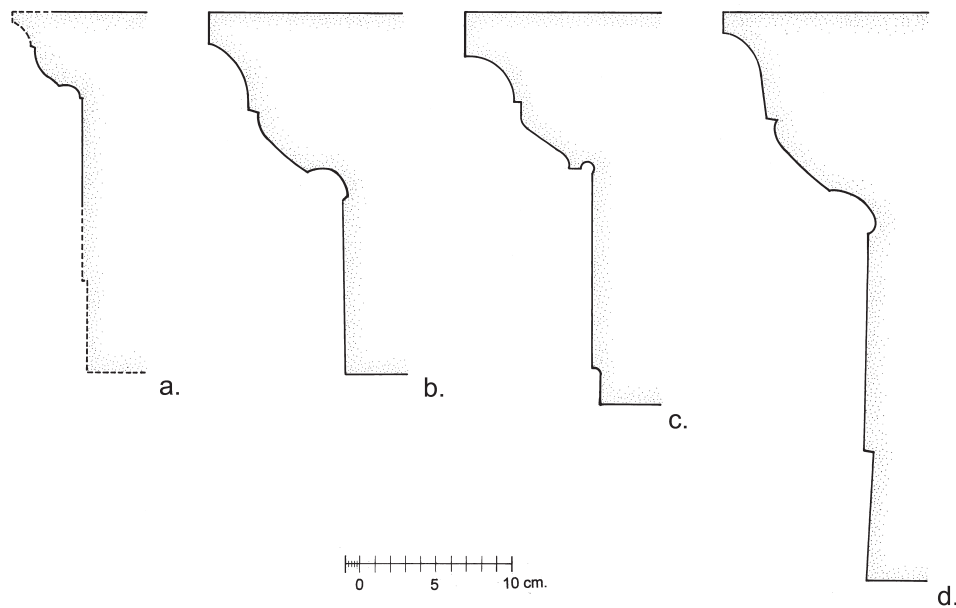


Figure 7.32. Drawing of anta capital profiles a) Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV; b) Stoa, after unpublished drawing S-194 by John Kurtich; c) Hieron, after *Samothrace* 3, pl. XCVI; d) Altar Court, after *Samothrace* 4, II, pl. XXXVIII. Drawing Leah Solk.

aligned. This arrangement is common to several other hexastyle prostyle buildings with returning steps that provide the closest parallels generally for the Dedication, including the third Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi, the Nikias Monument in Athens, the Dodekathreon on Delos, and the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura.⁶⁷

In addition to demarcating the Pentelic facade from the Thasian walls, the anta also served as the transitional element between the broad columnar epistyle and the considerably narrower wall architrave. In most prostyle buildings in which the pronaos walls are designed in relation to the width of the anta and the cella walls are made considerably narrower, the transition can be masked by the doorwall.⁶⁸ Not so in the Dedication, for it has no door wall. The upper width of the anta shaft, 0.758 m, preserved on T112, demonstrates that the top of the anta shaft is very close to the width of the returning epistyle that it is designed to carry (0.755 m). By contrast, the Thasian epikranitis is only ca. 0.568 m wide at the bed.⁶⁹ In order to maintain the continuous line of the entablature, the anta shaft projected significantly into the interior of the building, creating an awkward, L-shaped wall end. The design is confirmed by the dressed down surface and weathering on the back of the anta, which marks a smoothly-worked return of ca. 0.04 m on the outer face and a 0.18–0.22 m projection beyond the wall on the inside (Fig. 7.33).⁷⁰ A similar situation obtains on two Peloponnesian buildings from the late 4th or early 3rd century, the North Propylon to the Sanctuary of Askelpios at Epidauros and the South Stoa at Corinth.⁷¹ The design allows for a wall no greater than

⁶⁷ Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi, *FdD* II.14, pp. 51–53, pls 21–22, 28.h, 65, 66, 73, 89; Nikias Monument, Dinsmoor 1910, pp. 461–462, fig. 2; Dodekathreon, *Délos* XXII, p. 73, figs 29, 31–32, pls B, F; Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, Roux 1961, pl. 58. The same alignment appears in the temple of Artemis at Epidauros, although that structure has continuous steps, Roux 1961, pp. 215–216, fig. 44, pls 54–55. On the hexastyle prostyle Temple of the Athenians on Delos, the anta is also aligned with the third triglyph on the flank, but the anta shaft follows the standard Doric design of unequal responds because it frames the piers of the pronaos; cf. *Délos* XII, pp. 145–146; figs 171–175, pl. XII. The rectangular antae with equal responds, in which the lateral face is aligned with the third triglyph and approximates its width, are the preferred form for tetrastyle prostyle buildings as well; *Samothrace* 3, p. 159, n. 13.

⁶⁸ Compare, e.g., the Hieron, *Samothrace* 3, pl. CII; or, the temple of Athena Pronaia III at Delphi, *FdD* II.14, pls 66, 100. The Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura and the Choregic Monument of Nikias maintain the same wall thickness for both the pronaos and main chamber; cf. Dinsmoor 1910, figs 9, 11; Roux 1961, pl. 58, after Leonardos 1896.

⁶⁹ The backing block to the wall architrave or frieze does not survive, so we do not know the precise width of these courses. It seems likely that the profile on the inner face of the columnar epistyle was continued around the interior wall.

⁷⁰ This dimension excludes the wall plaster that covered the interior face of the wall. The anta may have been offset by ca. 0.01 m from the axis of the colonnade to create a continuous reveal of 0.03 m below the string course and 0.04 m above it. As axially aligned, the respond would be 0.03 m above the string course, and 0.02 m below it.

⁷¹ *Corinth* I.4, pp. 19, 40, plans VI, VII, X, XII; Roux 1961, pp. 266–267, pl. 73; for prostyle and winged stoas, Coulton 1976, pp. 80–85.

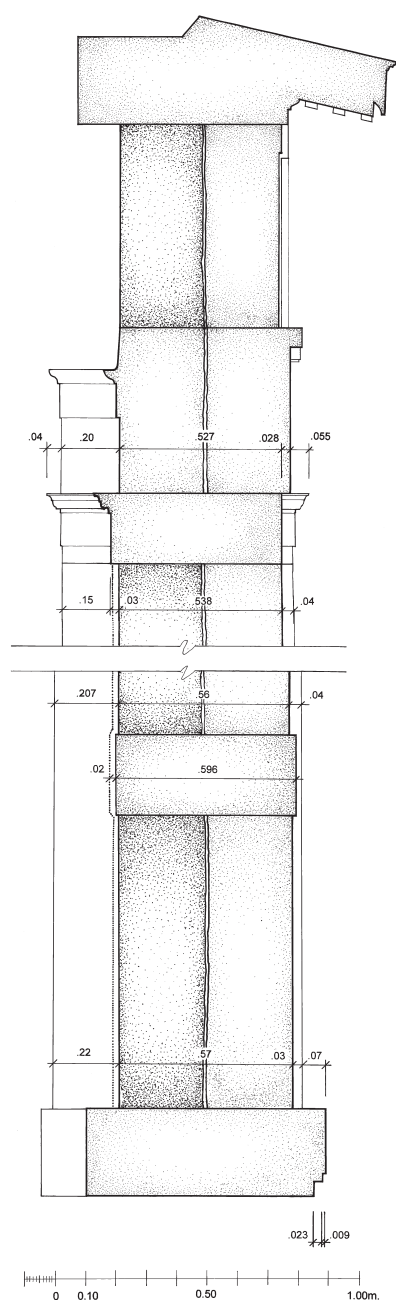


Figure 7.33. Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV; section showing anta in relation to the southern wall of the building. Drawing Michael Beaman.

required by structural demands, but it clearly was not a solution that was regularly embraced.⁷²

The shift from Pentelic to Thasian marble in the entablature was not as neatly demarcated as it was in the anta. Two very small Pentelic fragments, one from the crown of the lateral geison and the other from the returning corner block of the epistyle, prove that the entablature spanning from the colonnade to the antae was made of Pentelic marble. The alignment of the anta with the triglyph and the demonstrated preference for consistency of materials makes it likely that the Pentelic marble was continued through the architectural elements above the anta, including the triglyph and its surmounting geison block. Given the nature of this construction, in which a seam ran right through the fabric of the building, it is no surprise that the facade and the walls parted company in a spectacular fashion when, during an earthquake at the end of the first century A.D., the entire facade of the building collapsed into the Theatral Circle.

The Altar Court

Rectangular antae also finish the short returning walls that frame the tetrastyle colonnade of the Doric building identified by Karl Lehmann as the Altar Court.⁷³ This type of anta appears most frequently in stoas, and also in propyla or bouleuteria with returning walls, but there are examples of other cultic enclosures with this arrangement, as well.⁷⁴

The challenge of working with this design in the Doric order is to create antae that harmonize with both the spacing of the colonnade and the rhythm of the entablature. The face of the shaft has the same relationship to the enframed columns as it does to the prostyle colonnade, but in this design there is the additional concern of balancing the free space between the column and anta with the adjacent intercolumniations, on the one hand, and coordinating the anta with the triglyph frieze, on the other.⁷⁵ While aligning the anta and triglyph creates a well-knit solution for the prostyle flank, it results in an awkward design for the framed facade. On the Altar Court, aligning the anta with the triglyph would result in an opening between the anta and column 0.234 m wider than the adjacent intercolumniation, which would have created an awkwardly proportioned colonnade.⁷⁶ The architect of the Altar Court compensated by moving the anta off the axis of the triglyph toward the adjacent columns, so that the free opening was closer in size to the adjacent intercolumniation and the relationship of the triglyph to the exposed face of the anta more nearly approximated visual relationship

⁷² The opposite arrangement occurs in the Propylaia of the Athenian Akropolis, where the anta of the eastern facade project onto the outside; the north and south chambers, which were not completed, would have masked the difference. See Dinsmoor and Dinsmoor 2004, p. 17, pl. II. Having the antae project on the outside also appears to have been the case in the prostyle pronaos of Temple G at Selinous; see Koldewey and Puchstein 1899, pl. 17.

⁷³ *Samothrace* 4,II, pp. 29–32, figs 29, 38, pls VIII–X, XIV, XL, XLII. Lehmann 1998, pp. 89–90.

⁷⁴ Note, e.g., the stoa of Philip V at Delos, *Délos* VII.1, pp. 37–40, figs 40–43, 99–100, pls II, IV, V, VII; the propylon to the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous, Miles 1998, pp. 41–42, 44, figs 2–4, 7–8, 20; the bouleuterion at Assos, Clarke, Bacon and Koldewey 1902, pp. 34, 53, 55, 57 (square antae); or, Sanctuary P at Epidauros, Roux 1961, p. 277, fig. 79, pl. 80.2–3. See also Brockmann 1968, pp. 40–41.

⁷⁵ Brockmann 1968, pp. 40–41, speaks of loosing the connection between the triglyph and the anta and designing without regard for the triglyph axis in this configuration, but that is not the case. It is more a matter of adjusting for different visual circumstances.

⁷⁶ The difference is $\frac{1}{2}$ the lower diameter of the column less $\frac{1}{2}$ the width of the anta shaft, or $\frac{1}{2}(0.95) - \frac{1}{2}(0.483) = 0.2335$ m.

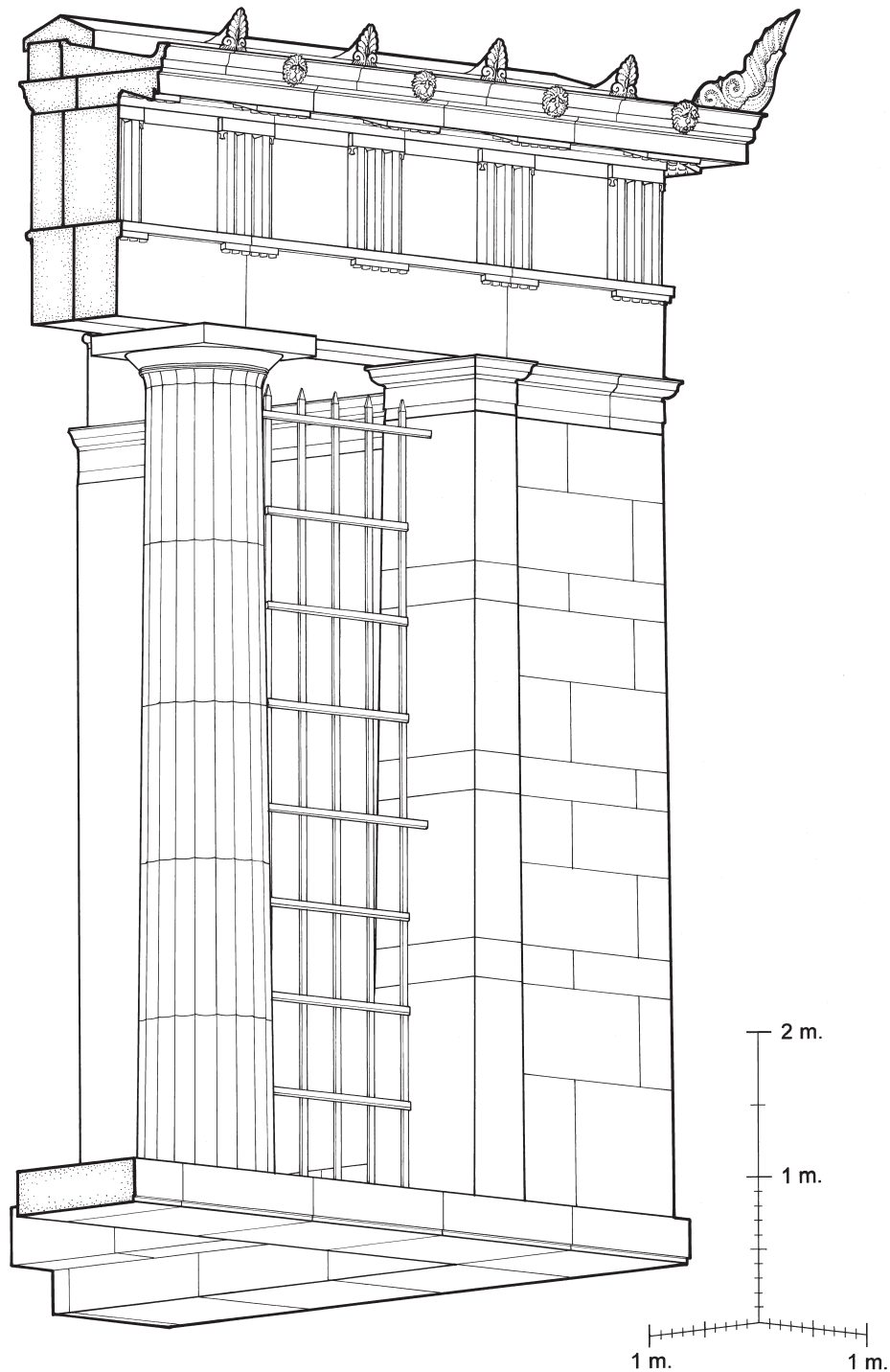


Figure 7.34. Altar Court. Proposed reconstruction of the anta and wall with binding courses. Drawing Leah Solk.

of the contour of the column to the triglyph. Although not aligned with the triglyph, the width of the anta shaft at the base was only slightly narrower (0.483 m) than the width of the triglyph (0.501–0.518 m).

While the position of the anta is clear, its composition requires some revision. Five blocks of the two antae survive, as well as one anta capital carved as part of the epikranitis. Like the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV or the Propylon of Ptolemy II, the vertical blocks are not conceived as part of the wall coursing but instead form rectangular upright jambs set flush against the wall courses.⁷⁷ According to D. Spittle and

⁷⁷ For the anta of a returning wall built as an integral part of the wall, compare the propylon to the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous, Miles 1998, figs 2, 3, 7, 20.

K. Lehmann, the blocks fall into two categories, originally either 1.026 m tall (blocks 604, 539, and 538) or 1.525 m tall (blocks 584 and L49). They taper both in length and width, while the face against the wall is vertical. The blocks were lifted into place with a lewis, joined to each other by three dowels, and secured to the adjacent inner and outer wall courses by means of hook clamps. The clamps on the top surface of all surviving anta blocks indicate that the blocks broke courses with the wall. The back edges of each block were dressed smoothly to serve as the responds; the back faces also have anathyrosis where they joined with the wall courses, leaving the central section of this face roughly worked. The only binding block currently associated with the anta is its capital (block 603).⁷⁸ This T-shaped block preserves the essential dimensions for the top of the anta shaft, the responds on each side, and the molded crown, which continues the projecting fascia crowned by the same ovolo hawkbeak and cavetto moldings that crown the epikranitis. The slight difference in the projection of the interior and exterior moldings is masked by the inner return.

Lacking additional binding blocks for either the anta or the wall, Spittle and Lehmann reconstruct the anta in the same fashion as the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, i.e. as a series of upright blocks that were doweled to each other and clamped to the wall blocks, but not locked in place with binding courses. The tall anta blocks are restored to the first position, where they rise to the height of the restored orthostate and one wall course.⁷⁹ Four of the shorter blocks, each rising to the height of two restored wall courses, complete the shaft.

While the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV provides clear precedent for erecting an anta shaft purely “up against the wall,” the compelling rationale for the design, i.e. the desire not to mix materials, is not a factor for the Altar Court, where certain surviving blocks indicate that the western walls, at least, were marble.⁸⁰ Moreover, Spittle and Lehmann reconstruct the wall adjacent to the anta entirely without binding courses; such construction is precarious even by Samothracian standards. As currently described, the reconstructed anta exceeds the height of the reconstructed column, 5.79 m.⁸¹ An alternate arrangement, with one tall anta block and three short ones separated by binders ca. 0.27 m high approximates the correct height. This form of construction is typical and finds parallel in the antae of both the Hieron and the Propylon of Ptolemy II. Using a slightly different arrangement, the holes for the metal grill that ran between column and anta can be accommodated (Fig. 7.34).

The Stoa

The anta with square shaft also has a presence on Samothrace, in the Stoa that crowns the western plateau above the central Sanctuary. The 104-meter long Stoa is, like virtually every building at Samothrace, of prostyle design.⁸² Dated to the middle of the 3rd century, it is the largest building in the Sanctuary to be constructed in local porous sandstone and limestone rather than imported marble. Despite the more humble material, the building is ambitious in design and scale. Like the Hieron, the Stoa also has corner pilasters to which the antae relate. The antae, however, differ in two important regards: first, they are square in plan; and, second, they are not built up against the wall, but composed within the wall coursing. While standard elsewhere, the technique is thus far unique on Samothrace. The facade of the stoa is composed of 34 bays, each ca. 3.0 m between the axes of the columns. The flanks are divided into four comparable units. The anta

⁷⁸ Another possible anta capital is now in Vienna, No. 346 E2; *Samothrace* 4,II, p. 32, pl. XIV.

⁷⁹ As published, the two surviving tall blocks, L49 and 584, are not the same lower length or width; cf. *Samothrace* 4,II, pls VIII, X. However, block L49 does not have a finished surface along its left or back sides. The orthostate is restored on the basis of the anta blocks.

⁸⁰ Lehmann is straightforward about the lack of identifiable marble wall blocks. Only six blocks appear to belong; cf. *Samothrace* 4,II, pp. 28–29.

⁸¹ There is some confusion in the dimensions. The restored height of the column, including the capital, is given as 5.79 m; the dimensions offered for the restored anta are greater (1 tall block of 1.524 + 4 short blocks of 1.026 m + anta capital of 0.37 m = 5.998 m). The reconstructed elevation (pl. XLII) also shows the columns ca. 6.0 m, high, but four short blocks are drawn differently, such that the first three are ca. 1.09 m and the final block is ca. 0.84 m. The heights may have been intended to respond to the different heights of the wall blocks, but none of the wall blocks is as short as ca. 42 m; cf. *Samothrace* 4,II, pp. 28–29.

⁸² Although explored by the Austrians (Conze, Hauser and Benndorf 1880, pp. 47–52, pls L–LIX) and reviewed by the French (Salviat 1962, pp. 293–304, and for the anta, pp. 298–299, fig. 28), the building was fully investigated by James R. McCredie during the 1962 through 1970 seasons: McCredie 1965, pp. 101–116, pls 28–31; McCredie 1968, pp. 201–204, pls 58–9; McCredie 1979, pp. 8–12.

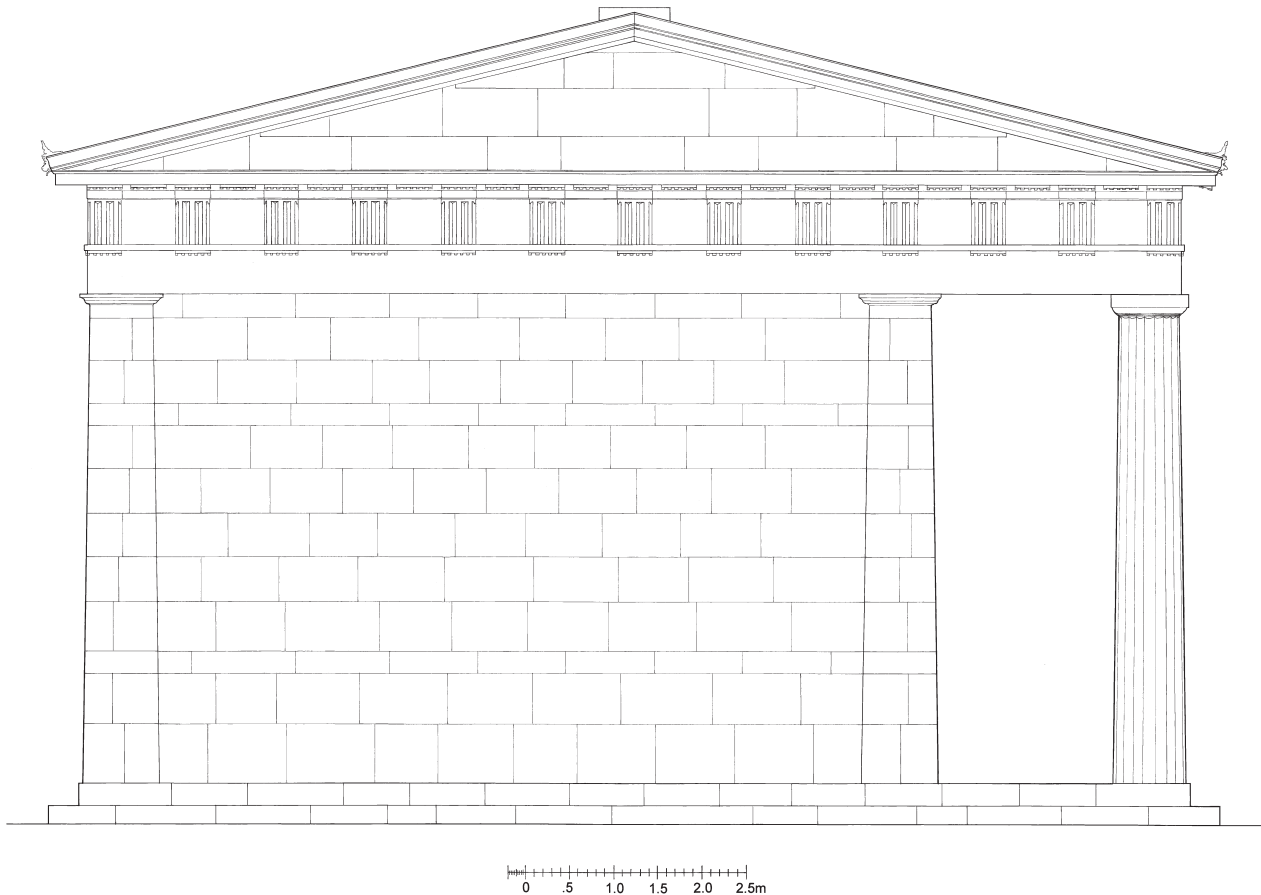


Figure 7.35. South elevation of the Stoa. Drawing Nicholas Ohly and Ryan M. Leidner.

is aligned axially with the fourth triglyph on the flanks to form a bay similar to the facades; the wall occupies the remainder equivalent to three bays, framed by the anta and end pilaster, which are equivalent in width to the diameter of the columns (Fig. 7.35).

The capitals for both pilaster and anta are contained within a single binding block; the profile follows that of the Dedication in having a fascia that slightly projects beyond the shaft, crowned by a cyma reversa hawksbeak and cavetto (Fig. 7.32).

The Hieron and Building 3

Among the other Doric buildings in the Sanctuary, only the Hieron and Building 3 on the Western Hill have antae with the traditional Doric unequal returns. In both buildings, however, the design is engaged in an unusual construction that, like the rectangular antae, relies chiefly on tall uprights to form the core of the shaft. The design of the Hieron is particularly interesting. In all of the architectural studies of this building prior to the investigations of P. W. Lehmann, the antae are restored as either square or rectangular because those shapes are the expected choices for a prostyle building with returning steps.⁸³ With Lehmann's work it became evident that the anta design followed the Doric practice of having a more slender return on the outer face. The Austrian excavators recovered a fragment of the anta capital, and to that Lehmann added two major fragments of the upright blocks, a small but crucial fragment of the binding course that formed the anta face, and another nine blocks belonging to the anta walls, all of which helped to secure the restoration.⁸⁴ The form of the antae is thus not in doubt, but the present plan of the building does not explain the choice.

⁸³ For earlier reconstructions, see *Samothrace* 3, pp. 3–17.

⁸⁴ *Samothrace* 3, pp. 69, 84–93, 94, 99–101, pls LXV–LXVI, CII, CV, CVII.

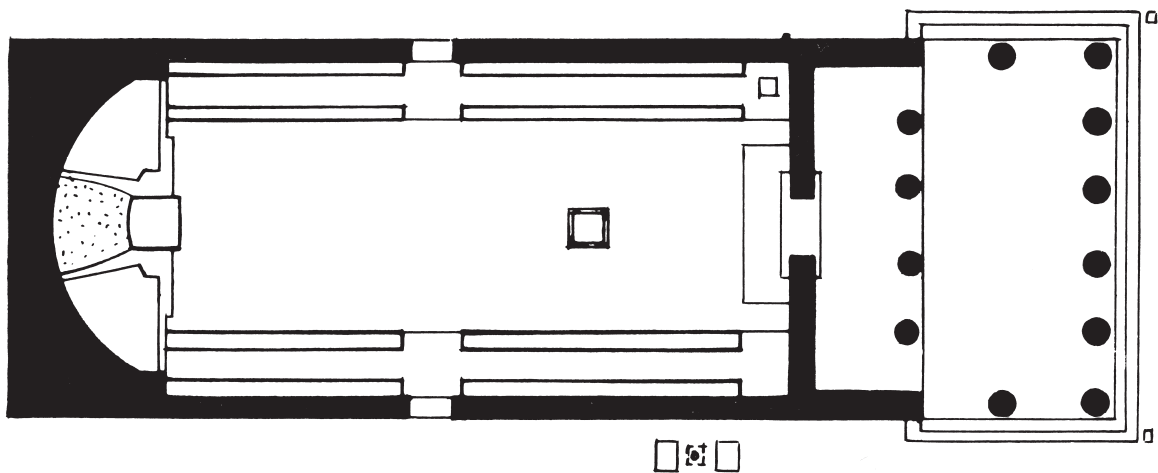


Figure 7.36. Hieron. Plan proposed for the original design of the porch in the early Hellenistic Hieron. After *Samothrace* 3, fig. 57.

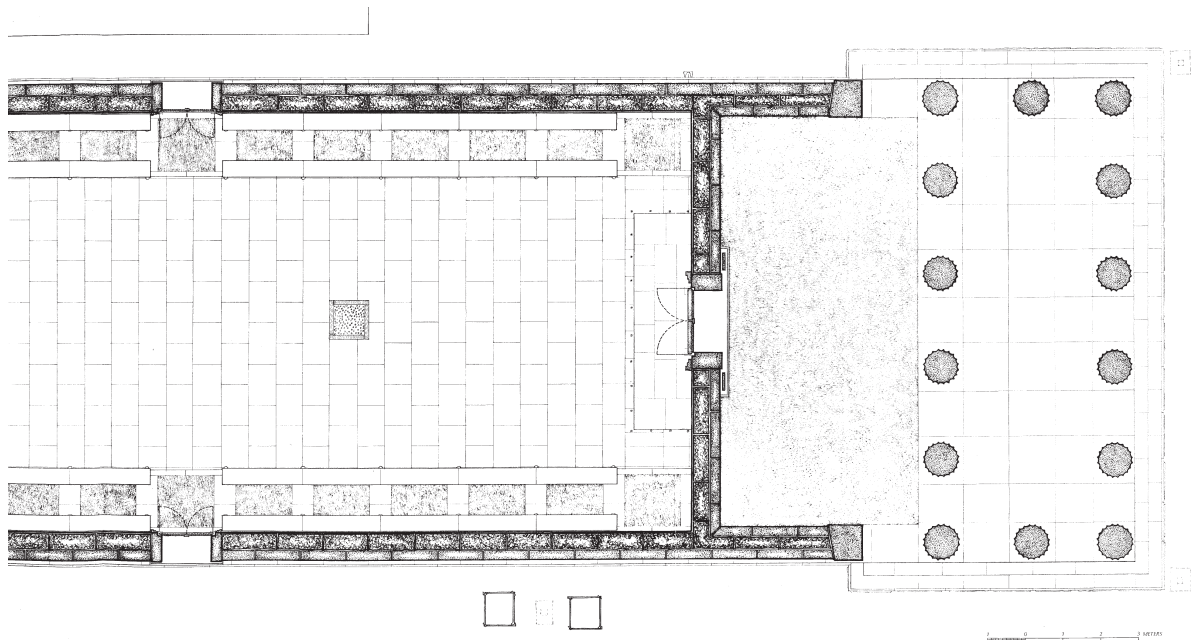


Figure 7.37. Hieron. Entirely prostyle porch added to the Hieron in the 2nd century B.C. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. CII.

Evidence in the foundations for the porch of the Hieron indicates that this area of the building was altered in plan.⁸⁵ Although part of the alteration, I suggest that the design of the Hieron's antae actually makes best sense in light of the original plan for the porch proposed by P. W. Lehmann (Fig. 7.36). As built, the shallow space between the antae is entirely open to the deep, hexastyle prostyle porch with two rows of columns separated by an additional column on the flank (Fig. 7.37). Rectangular antae, in which the width of the outer face matched the width of the pilaster at the rear corner of the building, would have sufficed. The original porch, however, according to Lehmann, was intended to have a slightly deeper tetrastyle in *antis pronaos* with a hexastyle prostyle facade.⁸⁶ In this plan, the antae would need to respond not only to the prostyle front colonnade but also to the columns in *antis*, while the narrower outer face could match the pilasters that

⁸⁵ Lehmann dated the north porch to the 2nd century B.C. Palagia, (Palagia et al. 2009) proposes a date in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

⁸⁶ *Samothrace* 3, pp. 84–93, fig. 57.

frame the southern corners of the building. It seems likely that the architect of the renovation maintained the original form of anta when he redesigned the pronaos and porch of the building.⁸⁷ In the current design, the front and inner faces are equal, with a width at the bottom of 0.938 m, and a width at the top of the shaft of 0.87 m; the outer face that projects onto the flanks matches the narrower width of the pilasters at the southern corners of the building, which have a width at the top of 0.69 m.⁸⁸ As designed, the outer face of the anta and the pilaster are considerably wider than the triglyph (whose width is 0.48 m, with a range from 0.459–0.485 m). The anta, however, is centered over the axis of the triglyph. The capitals of the anta and the pilaster are contained within the uppermost binding block; both have a profile composed of a fascia surmounted by an ovolo hawksbeak and cavetto crown (Fig. 7.32).

The construction of the Hieron's anta matches that of the rectangular antae found in the Propylon or, as we have proposed, the Altar Court, with binding blocks securing uprights that rise through pairs of wall courses, rather than the more characteristic Doric construction of forming the anta with each wall course. In general, using upright blocks to construct an anta with unequal responds is unusual, but it fits into a larger regional tradition. The Northwest Stoa in the agora of Thasos, for example, has an upright L-shaped anta block forming the unequal Doric responds.⁸⁹

So, too, does Building 3, the smallest and southernmost of the late Hellenistic treasury-like buildings that line the western boundary of the Sanctuary (Figs 7.38–7.39). This structure more than any other testifies to the tenacity on Samothrace of designing the anta as a shaft set up against the wall. Building 3 was partly standing when it was incorporated into the southwestern corner of the 10th century Byzantine fort that dominates the region of the Sanctuary known as the Western Hill, and the blocks of its antae are now a conspicuous feature of the later structure. Building 3 rests on a single porous limestone step, ca. 6.85 m wide, set on foundations ca. 7.0 m wide and ca. 12.0 m long. It has a simple, in antis plan opening to the south, but instead of columns, two piers set between Doric antae lead to a shallow pronaos.⁹⁰ With the exception of its fine Thasian marble threshold, the building is constructed in the local porous sandstone that was used for most of the monuments in this region, including the splendid Neorion.⁹¹ The structure was covered both inside and out with plaster. The thick base coat formed with an aggregate of crushed terracotta still survives on the west wall of the pronaos and the door wall.⁹²

The toichobate for the antae and the southern section of the door wall remains in situ, as does part of the western pronaos wall and the western door wall; the marble threshold is also in its original position, although rotated out of alignment by the builders of the Byzantine fort. Neither anta survives in place, but seven blocks belonging to them can be identified within the Byzantine fort. They include upright blocks that rise through several wall courses and binding blocks. All have the characteristic Doric design of unequal responds, narrow on the exterior and broader on the interior, to mirror the width of the piers. Unlike the Hieron's upright anta blocks, these uprights were not cut diagonally from one respond to the other. Instead, they contain not only

⁸⁷ On the few fragments of the anta that survive, there is no evidence that the blocks were reused, but that possibility should not be excluded.

⁸⁸ The width of the pilaster at its base is not preserved. The greatest width, recorded on block 743 from the southwestern corner, is 0.77 m. The outer width of the anta return, as preserved on block 472, is 0.752 m; *Samothrace* 3, pls XIX, LXV.1. Brockmann (1968, p. 41) incorrectly includes the Hieron among those buildings in which the width of the narrow, flank face of the anta matches that of the flank face of the rear pilaster, and the width of the front face of the anta matches that of the pilaster on the back of the building. Lehmann, in fact, asserts that the pilaster on the back wall is slightly narrower than the one on the flank, but the evidence varies; *Samothrace* 3, p. 166, pls IX–XIV, XVIII–XXIII. In any case, the southern (i.e., rear) pilasters, do not match the considerably wider face of the anta.

⁸⁹ Northwest Stoa, *ÉtThas* VI, p. 20, fig. 4, pls D, E, F, VIII.2. In the stoa the external respond of the anta matches the width of the triglyph, but the pilasters framing the rear corners are similar in width to the front face of the anta. On the Hieron, the widths of the external respond of the anta and of the pilasters are visually coordinated.

⁹⁰ McCredie 1979, pp. 24–26, fig. 3, 5, pl. 11c.

⁹¹ In the monuments of the central Sanctuary, including the Hieron and Rotunda, this material is confined to the foundations and the inner faces of the wall; the latter were covered with plaster. It is possible that, like the Neorion, the door frame of Building 3 was also marble, but neither jambs nor lintel survive.

⁹² This kind of undercoat is typical of Samothracian monuments in this region and the area of the dining rooms. None of the topcoat of finer layer of white plaster survives, but it can be assumed on the basis of several other monuments with a similar base coat, including the Neorion and Room 10; see plan, here, pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2 and 3.3, nos. 10, 29. For Room 10, McCredie 1979, p. 13 (labeled room A); for the Neorion, McCredie 1986–87, pp. 50–51, figs 89–90; McCredie 1987; McCredie 1987–88, pp. 62–63; McCredie 1988–89, pp. 95–96; Wescoat 2005, p. 163.

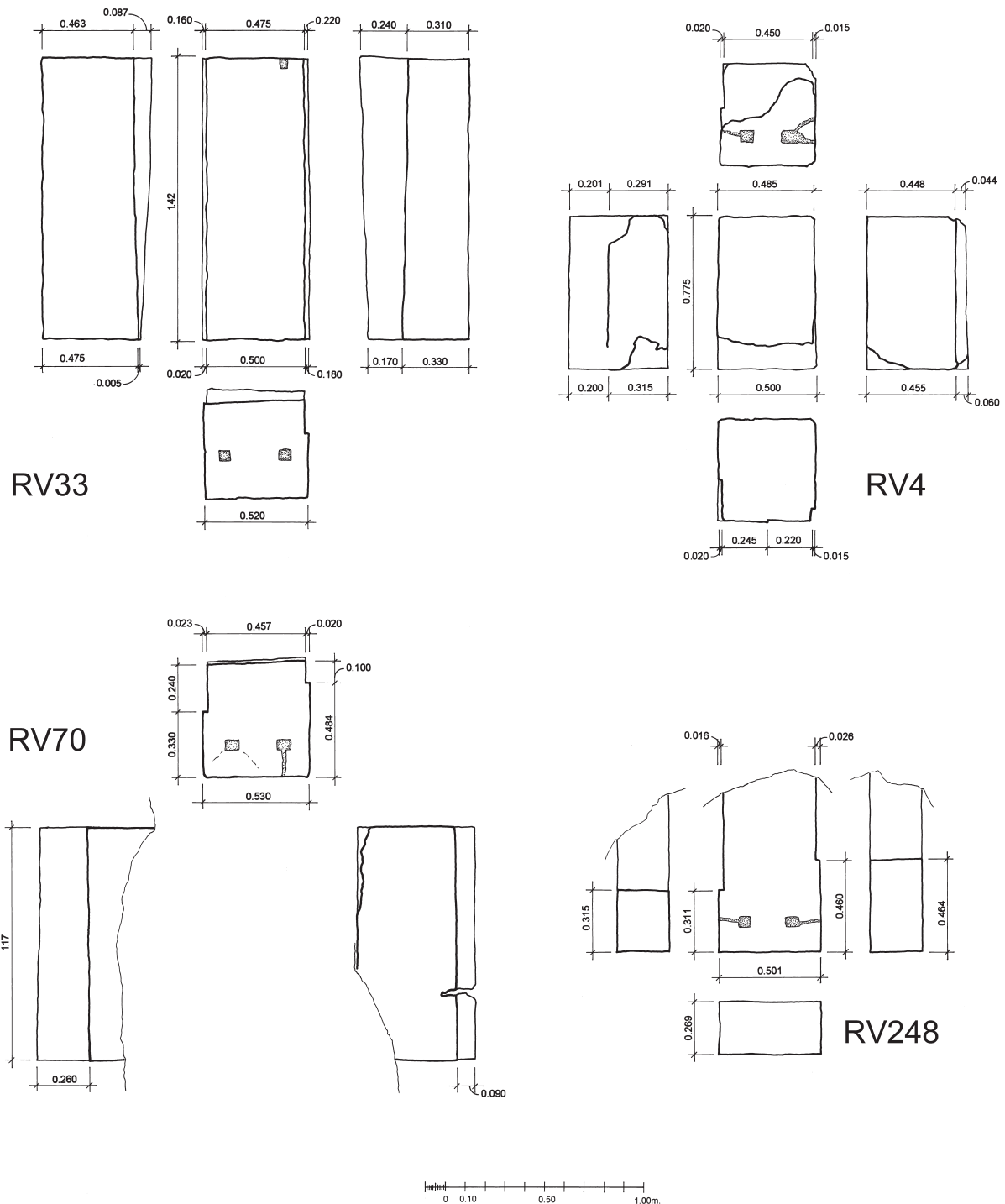


Figure 7.38. Building 3. Blocks of the western anta, RV70, RV33, RV248, and RV4. Drawing Meredith Sattler.

the anta proper but also a small portion of the adjacent wall, even on the interior. The blocks forming the anta shaft were secured to each other with a pair of rectangular dowels, but they were not clamped to the adjacent wall blocks. The binding courses, of which only one block remains, were thus critical to the structural integrity of the anta. The upright blocks are of three distinct heights and can be restored to their original positions.⁹³ The lowest upright blocks, RV70 and RV40, are ca. 1.17 m high and rise through the low orthostate and first

⁹³ Belonging to the west anta: RV4, RV248, RV33, RV70; belonging to the east anta: RV32, RV47, RV40.

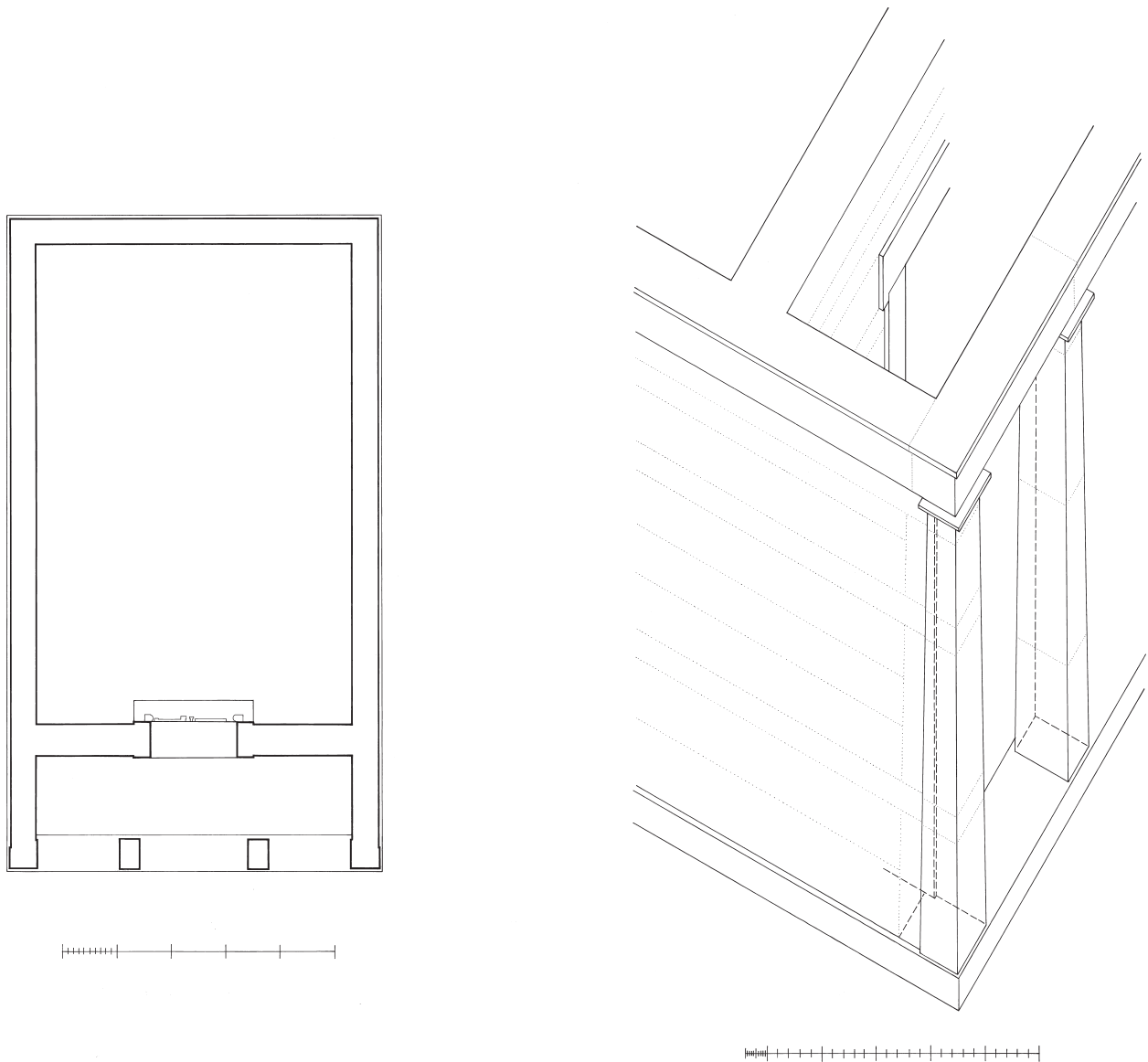


Figure 7.39. Building 3. Plan and reconstruction sketch. Drawing Yong K. Kim.

stretching wall course. A now-lost binding course must be restored to the next position, in order to secure the anta to the wall and provide the transition in taper to the next pair of uprights. The second set of upright anta blocks, RV33 and RV47, are ca. 1.43 m high and rise through three normal wall courses. The western anta was secured with the surviving binding block, RV248. The two shortest upright anta blocks, RV4 and RV32, both take the next position. Their height, ca. 0.77 m, is not the equivalent of either one or two wall courses. Either these blocks were augmented with an additional vertical block, now lost, or they rose through one course of stretchers and a binding course. Given the scale of the building, the latter would be most likely. The shaft would have been completed with a capital that formed part of a final binding course.

While the design of the anta blocks is clearly Doric, the essentials of the order do not appear to have been carried into the entablature. The two surviving blocks of the epistyle bear the canonical taenia but neither regulae nor guttae. No Doric frieze blocks survive, but there are several plain blocks that might belong to this course. The coarse quality of the stone cannot fully account for the abandonment of the most essential features of the Doric order, the column and triglyph. Piers in *antis* occur elsewhere in fine architecture when space is limited, but they are generally confined to the less obtrusive *sekos*, e.g., in the Ionic Temple of Athena Nike on

the Athenian Akropolis or the Doric Temple of the Athenians on Delos.⁹⁴ The architect may have chosen piers for Building 3 because they are easy to execute and occupy a minimal amount of space relative to their height. In this very simply designed structure, the anta appears to have become the signifying element of the order.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to our team of students from the Institute of Fine Arts, Emory University, and Harvard's Graduate School of Design who have worked over the years at Samothrace; those particularly engaged on this project include architects Yong K. Kim, Ryan Leidner, Meredith Sattler and Leah Solk, and archaeologists Genevieve Hendricks, Maggie Popkin, Amy Sowder, and Alexandre Miller.

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⁹⁴ Temple of the Athenians, *Délos* XII, pp. 166–168, pl. XII; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, pp. 183–184, no. 12, fig. 47. Temple of Athena Nike, Travlos 1971, pp. 148–149, figs 205–206; Lawrence 1996, pp. 118–119, figs 186–187.

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8. *Choroi, Theōriai* and International Ambitions: The Hall of Choral Dancers and its Frieze

Clemente Marconi

Introduction

Among the revelations about the architecture of Samothrace that we owe to James R. McCredie, a special place is taken by his new restoration of the Hall of Choral Dancers, a major building placed at the heart of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods.

In *Samothrace* 5, published in 1982, Phyllis Williams Lehmann and Denys Spittle restored this building, which they called the Temenos, as a rectangular precinct (24.78×10.45 m) with an elegant Ionic Propylon of Thasian marble (ca. 12.30×6.20 m) attached to its northeastern corner.¹ Today this building appears under a different name and is restored with quite a different form (Figs 8A–8B). The Hall of Choral Dancers (HCD) was a large closed building of Thasian marble, about 34 meters long and 20.7 meters wide, preceded on the northwest by an Ionic porch with a recessed central section three bays long flanked by two projecting wings. This porch gave access to two aisles separated by a wall. The western aisle was paved with marble. The

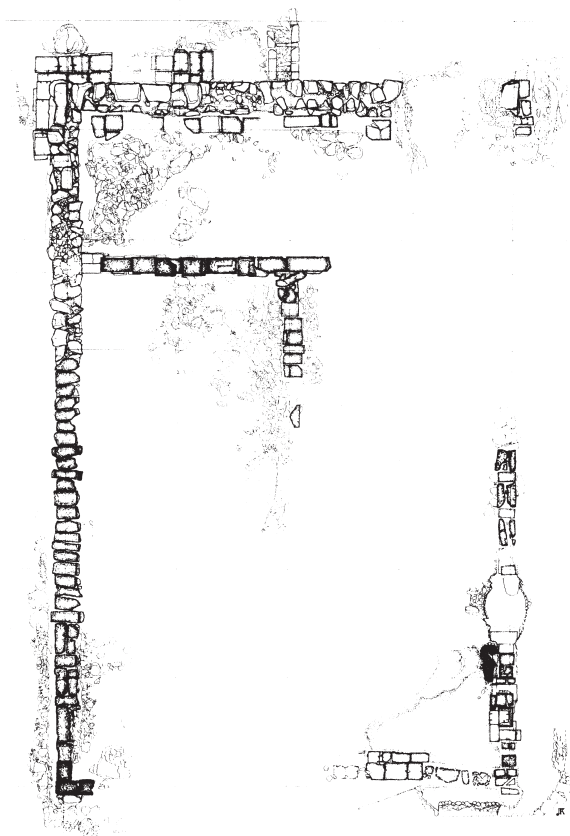


Figure 8A. Extant plan of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

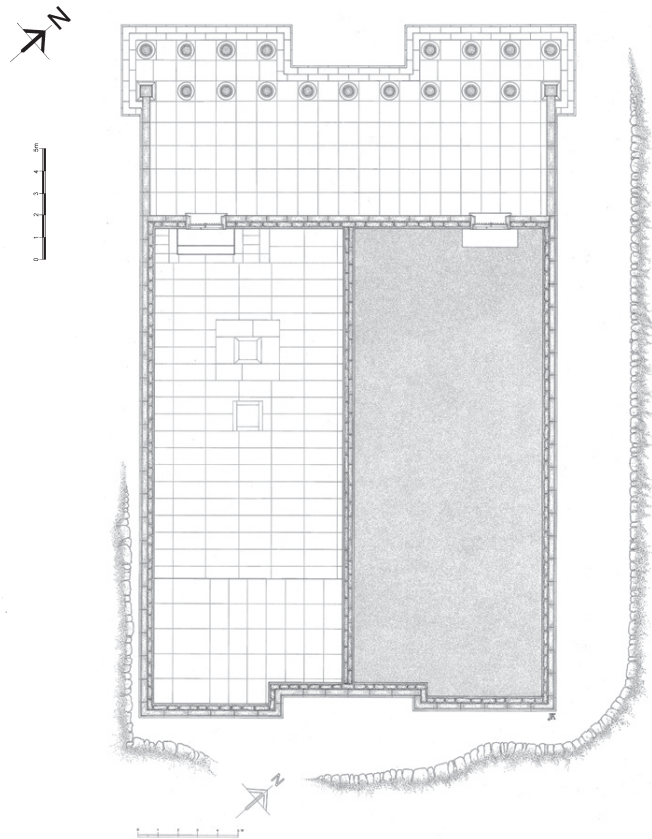


Figure 8B. Restored plan of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

¹ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 39–80.

eastern aisle, with its floor set on a slightly higher level, was paved with a marble-chip mosaic.² Thanks to this new restoration on paper, the Hall of Choral Dancers appears today as the largest marble building in the sanctuary, a prominence further emphasized by its rich sculptural decoration: large floral akroteria, pedimental reliefs, an elaborate horizontal sima, carved ceiling coffers in the porch, and finally, the frieze with dancing young women from which the building derives its present name.³

The information provided by the new restoration of the Hall of Choral Dancers is not without consequences for our understanding of this frieze. In *Samothrace 5* it was restored as part of the decoration of the Propylon, but we now know that this sculptured band, instead of being limited to the porch, did in fact encircle the entire building along with the rest of the entablature, which included a triple-banded architrave, dentils, and a cornice-gutter carved in one block. The frieze was thus much longer than previously thought, and it was not limited to one part of the building. However, this is not the only change in our knowledge of the frieze since 1982.

Since the publication of the frieze by Phyllis Williams Lehmann and Martha Leeb Hadzi in *Samothrace 5*, an exemplary publication that has remained the basis for any subsequent discussion, two new blocks and several fragments have come to light in the area of the sanctuary during the investigations directed by James R. McCredie. These new materials expand considerably our understanding of the frieze. In what follows, I will first provide a catalogue of the new evidence and discuss its contribution to our understanding of the frieze, and I will then move to more general interpretive issues: the restoration of the frieze, the function of the Hall of Choral Dancers, and the meaning of the choruses of young women.

Catalogue of the New Blocks and Fragments of the Frieze⁴

I. Blocks and Fragments of the Frieze with Figures Moving to Right

F(S)33. T-299. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Figs 8.1–8.2)

Found at the SE corner of the HCD (July 8, 1994). Recorded location: 21.40 E; 1.40–2.55 N.

Length 112 cm; height 31 cm; thickness 35.6 cm.

Corner frieze block, preserved in its entire length.

The top of this block is roughly picked with a point. There is a faint indication of anathyrosis in front. At the middle of the right side there is a Π -clamp hole, 8 cm long, 5 cm wide, and 3 cm deep. Traces of a second Π -clamp hole are visible at the rear, near the left edge. Near the Π -clamp hole on the right, there is a dowel hole with a portion of the iron dowel still in situ. The center of this dowel is ca. 21 cm behind the front of the block. Near the left edge there is a pinhole: its center is 18 cm behind the front of the block.

The right end and the back at the left end of the block have anathyrosis. The adjoining block at the left was ca. 32.5 cm thick without the crowning molding.

The rear face is only roughly cut, carrying pick-hammer and point marks. In the middle there is a rectangular cutting for a ceiling beam, 24.5 cm wide, 11 cm deep, and 22.5 cm high.

The bottom of the block is preserved, but weathered.

The worn, crowning molding is 4.5 cm high and consists of an ovolo, half round, and tiny fillet.

The relief on the long (east) side of the block is severely worn and shows traces of nine figures moving to right. The first figure on the right is a musician, as indicated by the fact that both her arms are raised. Of the musical instrument that this figure once held in her hands only a curved trace, whose outer edge corresponds to the right end of the block, remains. This instrument must have been either a kithara or, less likely, a tympanon. Eight dancers follow this musician, reaching their left hands forward to grasp the right wrists of their neighbors. The only exception is the first dancer on the right, who faces right and grasps with her left hand the drapery of the musician: her left arm is consequently placed higher than the corresponding arm of the remaining dancers. This figure also wears a shawl-like mantle with swallowtail

² McCredie 1994–95; McCredie 1995–96; McCredie 1996–97; Lehmann 1998, pp. 73–78, fig. 32 and plans III–IV, no. 17.

³ Pediments: *Samothrace 5*, pp. 139; 262–266. Floral akroteria: McCredie 1995–96, p. 32. Sima: *Samothrace 5*, pp. 67–72. Coffers: *Samothrace 5*, pp. 148–172; Tancke 1989, 22–25; 232–234; *ÉtThas* XV, pp. 87–89; Mantis 1998, pp. 214–218; Harrison 2001.

⁴ The presentation follows the format used in *Samothrace 5*, pp. 173–201. However, measures are in centimeters, and the descriptions of garments follow *Agora* XI, p. 54.



Figure 8.1. F(S)33. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.

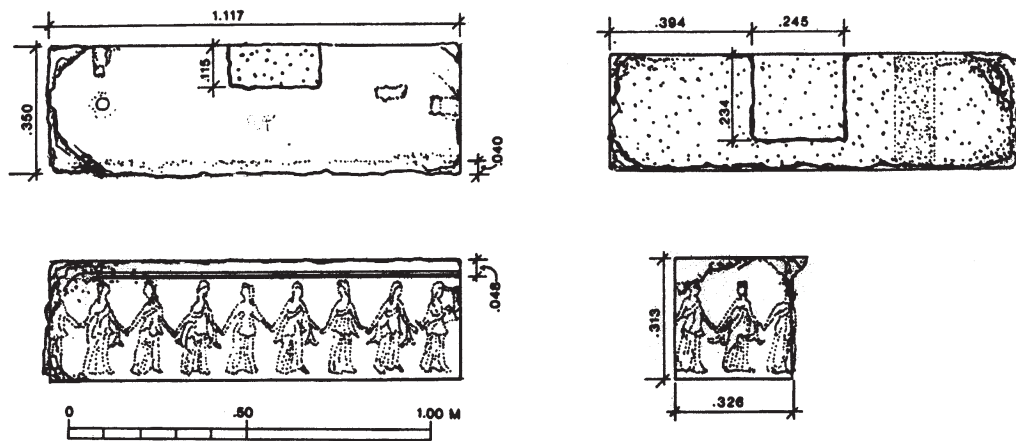


Figure 8.2. F(S)33. Drawing John Kurtich.

ends over her diagonal mantle and chiton. The remaining dancers, with the exception of the last figure at the left, face each other and alternatively wear the shawl-like mantle over their chitons and diagonal mantles. Thus, the second, fourth, and sixth dancer from the right look back and wear only a chiton and diagonal mantle, while the third, fifth, and seventh dancer face ahead and wear shawl-like mantles over their chitons and mantles. The first dancer on the left is so close to the end of the block that her right foot is only partially carved. The original direction of her head remains unclear. The original direction of the heads of the other dancers can be established by tracing their outlines and studying the position of the necks which are vertical if the head faced forward and inclined if turned backward.

The short (south) side of the block shows traces of three figures moving to right. The first figure on the left is so close to the edge that her right foot and ankle were carved on the adjoining block. This dancer wears a shawl-like mantle and probably looked ahead. With her left hand she grasps the right wrist of the next dancer, who does not wear the shawl-like mantle and looks back. Her raised left arm indicates that she grasps the drapery of the next figure. This third figure, who was at the corner of the frieze, should thus be identified as a musician. Her upper part is almost completely lost, except for the hair on the back of her head.

F(S)34. T-302. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Figs 8.3–8.4)

Found at the SE corner of the HCD (July 2, 1994). Recorded location: 20.35–20.85 E; 3.35–4.30 N.

Length 99 cm; height 32.2 cm; thickness 38 cm.

Frieze block, preserved in its entire length.

The top of this block is roughly dressed with a point and claw chisel. Along the broken front edge there is anathyrosis, ca. 4 cm wide. At the middle of the left edge there is a Π -clamp hole, 9.5 cm long and 4.5 cm wide. At the middle of the right edge there is another Π -clamp hole, now partially broken. It has about the same length as the previous hole but



Figure 8.3. F(S)34. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.

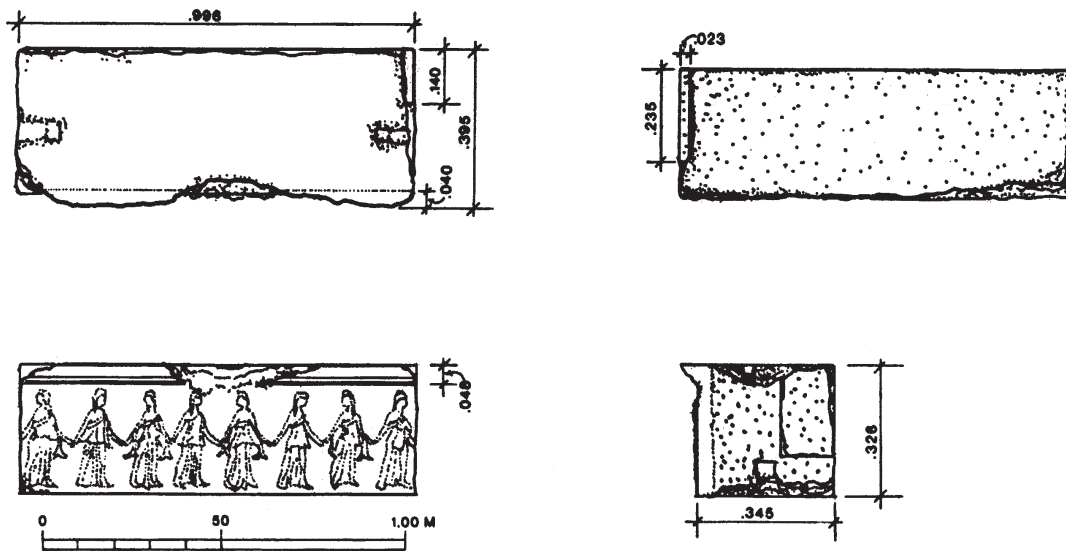


Figure 8.4. F(S)34. Drawing John Kurtich.

is narrower (ca. 3.5 cm). Next to this second Π -clamp hole there is a dowel hole with the remains of molten lead and traces of an iron dowel inside. The center of this dowel hole is ca. 20.4 cm behind the front of the block.

The left end of the block has anathyrosis; its bottom carries a broken lower end dowel hole, ca. 11.5 cm wide, 4.5 cm deep, and 10 cm high. The right end of the block also has anathyrosis and a broken lower end dowel hole at the bottom, which is ca. 4 cm wide, 5.5 cm deep, and 4.5 cm high. On this side of the block, towards the back, are the remains of a cutting for a ceiling beam, ca. 14 cm deep. This was cut out of part of this block and of the adjoining frieze block at the right. The rear is roughly cut with a pick-hammer and point.

The bottom is preserved, slightly weathered.

The crowning molding, damaged in the middle and towards the lateral ends of the block, is ca. 4.5 cm high and consists of an ovolo, half round, and tiny fillet.

The distance between the top of the *poloi* worn by the figures on the frieze and the fillet of the crowning molding measures 2 cm.

The relief is weathered and shows the remains of eight dancers moving to right. The dancers clasp the right wrists of their neighbors. They are arranged in facing pairs, and alternately wear a shawl-like mantle with swallowtail ends over the chiton and the diagonal mantle. Thus, the first, third, fifth, and seventh dancer from the left look back and wear only chitons and mantles, while the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth dancer look forward and wear shawl-like mantles over their chitons and mantles. The eighth dancer, first from the right, grasped a flounce of drapery of the musician on the



Figure 8.5. F(S)35. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.



Figure 8.6. F(S)36. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.

right, originally carved on the adjoining block: this is indicated by the fact that her left arm is higher than those of the remaining dancers on the left. The first dancer from the left is so close to the edge that her right forearm was carved on the adjoining block, together with her right ankle and heel.

F(S)35. 87.1264–87.1124A. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.5)

Found on the Western Hill. 87.1264: August 5, 1987; recorded location: 7.00–10.00 W; 46.00–51.00 S. 87.1124 A: June 27, 1987; recorded location: 7.50–10.00 W; 57.10–53.00 S.

Preserved length 30 cm; preserved height 24.8 cm; preserved thickness 19.5 cm.

Two fragments joined together. Large portion of the left end of a frieze block, including the front and bottom. Broken at other ends, including the right, which presents an almost vertical break. The left end of the block has anathyrosis. The bottom has point and claw chisel marks.

At the left, the relief depicts the lower body, below the waist, of a dancer moving to right. The feet, lower legs, thighs, left hand and wrist, chiton, and edge of the overfall of the mantle are preserved. The swallowtail ends of the shawl-like mantle, hanging from the right arm, are visible against the right thigh. A trace of a swallowtail end of the same mantle, hanging from the left arm, is also visible immediately above the left knee. At the right, the relief depicts a musician moving to right. She wears a chiton and diagonal mantle. Since both her arms are raised, the musical instrument, of which no traces are preserved, must have been an *aulos*. Her head is broken, except for the tip of the chin; its direction indicates that the figure faced right. The arms are also broken, while the forearms and hands are missing. The toes of the left foot are severed, and the right foot is broken at the ankle. The left thumb of the dancer at the left grasps the drapery of the musician.

F(S)36. 88.0025. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.6)

Found on the Western Hill (June 27, 1988). Recorded location: 10.50–14.50 W; 50.50–55.00 S.

Preserved length 20.8 cm; preserved height 35.3 cm; preserved thickness 21.7 cm.

Fragment of upper portion of a frieze block, broken on all sides. Remains of clamp hole on top. The relief shows part of a kithara player moving to right. Both the right half of the kithara and the left hand of the musician plucking the strings are visible. Also visible is part of the forearm, reaching backward, of a dancer to right, who wears a shawl-like mantle with swallowtail ends, one end partially visible below the forearm.



Figure 8.7. Left: F(S)37. Center: F(S)38. Right: F(S)39. Photos C. Marconi.

F(S)37. 94.0325A–C. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.7 left)

Found along the S wall of the HCD (July 18, 1994). Recorded location: 12.80–17.50 E; 0.70–2.70 N.

Preserved length 15.4 cm; preserved height 12.6 cm; preserved thickness 7.7 cm.

Weathered bottom fragment of frieze block. The relief shows a figure moving to right, preserved below the waist. The left leg and foot, the chiton, and part of the right leg are visible. On the right, next to the right end of the fragment, is the right heel of a second figure, raised less than usual.

F(S)38. 94.0100. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.7 center)

Found along the S wall of the HCD (July 2, 1994). Recorded location: 12.00–16.00 E; 0.70–1.30 N.

Preserved length 10.9 cm; preserved height 10 cm; preserved thickness 3.3 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block. The relief shows part of a figure moving to right, preserved from below the knees. The right leg and foot, the chiton, and part of the left leg are visible. The right foot wears a sandal, and the heel is raised less than usual. The surface of this fragment is very well preserved. The background carries chisel marks.

F(S)39. 95.0023. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.7 right)

Found along the S wall of the HCD (June 26, 1995). Recorded location: 11.61–13.61 E; 0.80–2.80 S.

Preserved length 10.4 cm; preserved height 11.1 cm; preserved thickness 4.9 cm.

Weathered fragment of relief broken on all sides, showing the torso and upper thighs of a dancer to right, with part of the left arm preserved. A trace of red color on the right breast does not seem to be ancient.

F(S)40. 94.0427. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.8 left)

Found at the SE corner of the HCD (July 6, 1994). Recorded location: 16.00–23.00 E; 1.30 S–0.70 N.

Preserved length 8.8 cm; preserved height 4.2 cm; preserved thickness 5.2 cm.

Weathered fragment of relief broken on all sides, showing the lower part of a figure moving to right. Visible are the upper right thigh and the fold and pleats of the lower chiton, together with the crease at the advanced left leg. The crease is located higher than usual.

F(S)41. 94.0324A. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.8 right)

Found inside the E aisle of the HCD, not far from the limekiln on the E wall (July 21, 1994). Recorded location: 12.50–15.50 E; 4.00–6.00 N.

Preserved length 7.3 cm; preserved height 4.8 cm; preserved thickness 3.2 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block. The surface of the bottom is smooth. The relief shows the lower part of a figure moving to right. Only the lower part of the chiton is preserved, with the pleats on the background falling diagonally, following the dance movement.



Figure 8.8. Left: F(S)40. Right: F(S)41. Photos C. Marconi.

F(S)42. 87.1123A–B. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.9)

Found on the Western Hill (July 23, 1987). Recorded location: 12.50–15.50 W; 57.00–63.00 S.

Preserved length 7.1 cm; preserved height 15.4 cm; preserved thickness 7.8 cm. Fragment of the lower right corner of a frieze block. Preserved are the front face, right end, and bottom of the block. The right end shows traces of anathyrosis. The bottom carries point and claw chisel marks. The relief shows the left leg and part of the foot of a dancer moving to right. Near the leg, part of the chiton is visible. A drill channel forms the outline of the leg. At the top right corner are visible traces of the left forearm of the dancer and the open right hand of a second dancer on the right. The fingers of this second dancer are incised not modeled, which indicates that the background was not cut down and therefore the relief was unfinished.



Figure 8.9. F(S)42. Photo C. Marconi.

II. Blocks and Fragments of the Frieze with Figures Moving to Left

F(S)43. 87.424. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.10 left)

Found on the Western Hill (August 6, 1987). Recorded location: 17.00–18.00 W; 48.50–50.00 S.

Preserved length 21.5 cm; preserved height 7.3 cm; preserved thickness 13.3 cm. Bottom fragment of frieze block. The bottom carries point marks. At the left, the relief shows the lower part of a figure moving to left. The legs, damaged feet, and lower chiton are preserved. At the right end of the fragment are the toes of the right advanced foot of a second figure moving in the same direction.

F(S)44. 94.0383. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.10 center)

Found near the limekiln on the E wall of the HCD (July 9, 1994). Recorded location: 19.00–22.83 E; 7.00–10.00 N. Preserved length 20.4 cm; preserved height 5.5 cm; preserved thickness 12.8 cm.

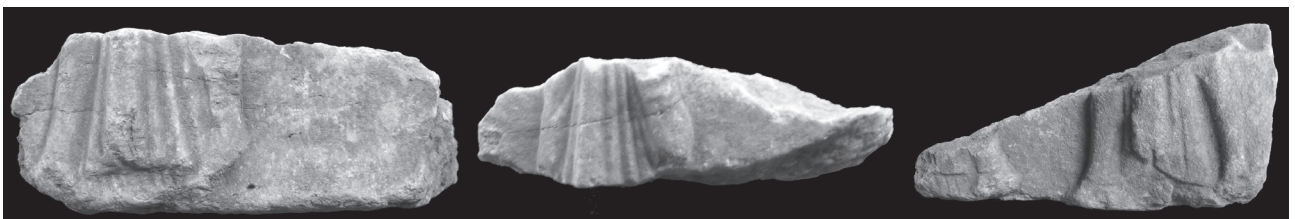


Figure 8.10. Left: F(S)43. Center: F(S)44. Right: F(S)45. Photos C. Marconi.

Fragment of the lower part of a frieze block. The relief shows the lower legs of a figure in chiton moving to left. Part of the background is preserved on either side of this figure, with no traces of other figures.

F(S)45. 86.558. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.10 right)

Found on the Western Hill (July 4, 1986). Recorded location: 16.50–17.00 W; 48.75–49.00 S.

Preserved length 17.6 cm; preserved height 9.2 cm; preserved thickness 14 cm.

Fragment of the lower right corner of a frieze block. The front face, right end, and bottom of the block are preserved. The right end carries anathyrosis. Claw chisel marks are visible on the bottom. The relief shows the lower, weathered part of two figures moving to left. Of the figure at the left, only part of the left foot and the lower end of the chiton are visible. The heel is raised less than usual. Of the figure at the right, close to the right edge, both lower legs are preserved, while the feet are broken off. The lower part of the chiton is visible, including its central fold and side pleats.

F(S)46. 94.0327. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.11 left)

Found inside the E aisle of the HCD, not far from the limekiln on the E wall (July 13, 1994). Recorded location: 4.00–6.00 N; 12.40–17.50 E.

Preserved length 13.8 cm; preserved height 4 cm; preserved thickness 8.8 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block. Claw chisel marks visible on the bottom. The relief shows the lower part of a figure moving to left, including the advanced right foot and bottom part of the chiton.

F(S)47. 01.0002. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.11 center)

Found on the path leading from the Hieron to the Southern Necropolis (July 2, 2001).

Preserved length 13.4 cm; preserved height 16.3 cm; preserved thickness 5.3 cm.

Fragment of the lower portion of a frieze block, broken on all sides including the bottom, which looks flat. The weathered relief shows the lower part of a dancer moving to left. Preserved are the left leg, lower part of the chiton, and part of the advanced right leg. Near the left leg are traces of a swallowtail end of the shawl-like mantle, pendent from the left arm.

F(S)48. 87.1265. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.11 right)

Found on the Western Hill (August 5, 1987). Recorded location: 7.00–10.00 W; 46.00–51.00 S.

Preserved length 11.1 cm; preserved height 11 cm; preserved thickness 3 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block, broken on all sides. The weathered relief shows the left leg, raised foot, and lower part of the chiton of a figure moving to left.



Figure 8.11. Left: F(S)46. Center: F(S)47. Right: F(S)48. Photos C. Marconi.

F(S)49. 87.1122. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.12 left)

Found on the Western Hill (July 18, 1987). Recorded location: 12.50–20.00 W; 40.80–43.10 S.

Preserved length 10.9 cm; preserved height 12.3 cm; preserved thickness 8.3 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block, broken on all sides. The weathered relief shows a figure, preserved from above the knees to the ankles, moving to left. The bottom of the chiton is also visible.

F(S)50. 93.0510. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.12 center)

Found between the Rotunda of Arsinoe and the HCD (July 26, 1993). Recorded location: 2.00–4.50 N; 32.00–35.00 W.

Preserved length 10.3 cm; preserved height 16.8 cm; preserved thickness 5.5 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block, broken on all sides. The weathered relief shows a dancer, preserved from above the waist to the knees, moving to left. The right forearm is also visible. The background is uneven and not smooth. An element in relief above the right forearm may be part of the background that was not cut down and the work was therefore unfinished.

F(S)51. 94.0093. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.12 right)

Found near the limekiln on the E wall of the HCD (July 2, 1994). Recorded location: 15.00–19.00 E; 8.00–10.00 N.

Preserved length 8.8 cm; preserved height 3.8 cm; preserved thickness 6.2 cm.

Bottom fragment of frieze block. The relief shows the damaged right foot, ankle and lower chiton of a figure moving to left.

F(S)52. 86.390. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.13 left)

Found on the Western Hill (July 5, 1986). Recorded location: 12.00–17.00 W; 48.00–50.50 S.

Preserved length 6.9 cm; preserved height 12.3 cm; preserved thickness 2.3 cm.

Two fragments joined together. Fragment of relief showing the torso and upper thighs of a dancer moving to left, with traces of her upper right arm also preserved. The drapery is extremely well preserved, especially the overfall. In comparison to the overfall of the drapery of the other figures known from the frieze, the one on this fragment includes an additional zigzag at the lower left end. The quality of the workmanship is superior to that documented thus far on the frieze, including F(S)1 and F(S)12.

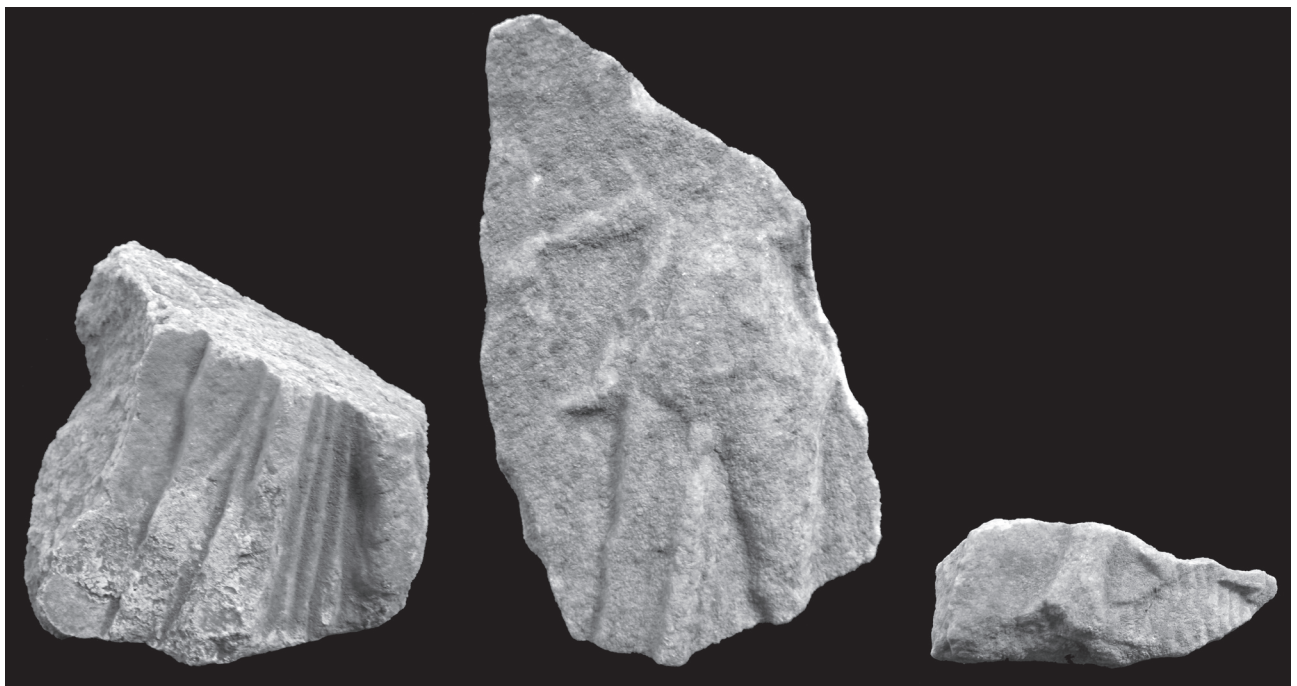


Figure 8.12. Left: F(S)49. Center: F(S)50. Right: F(S)51. Photos C. Marconi.



Figure 8.13. Left: F(S)52. Center: F(S)53. Right: F(S)54. Photos C. Marconi.



Figure 8.14. Left: F(S)55. Right: F(S)56. Photos C. Marconi.

F(S)53. 88.74. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.13 center)

Found on the Western Hill (July 5, 1988). Recorded location: 14.50–17.00 W; 50.50–55.00 S.

Preserved length 6.2 cm; preserved height 11.8 cm; preserved thickness 5.1 cm.

Fragment of the right end of a frieze block. The relief shows traces of a dancer moving to left. A buttock and part of the left thigh and lower leg are still visible. Also preserved are part of the swallowtail ends of a shawl-like mantle and part of the left forearm.

F(S)54. 86.383. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.13 right)

Found on the Western Hill (July 5, 1986). Recorded location: 12.00–17.00 W; 48.00–50.50 S.

Preserved length 6 cm; preserved height 6 cm; preserved thickness 2.4 cm.

Small fragment of background with remains of relief at both ends. Too little is preserved of the relief to allow for

a secure identification. The traces of relief on the right might belong to the left end of the overfall of a dancer moving to left. The traces of relief on the left might belong to the right forearm and beginning of the hand of the same figure, who grasps the wrist of the next figure on the left. The figure preserved on this fragment would thus be a dancer.

F(S)55. 94.0016A. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.14 left)

Found near the limekiln on the E wall of the HCD (June 29, 1996). Recorded location: 15.00–19.00 E; 10.00–12.00 N. Preserved length 4.4 cm; preserved height 3.9 cm; preserved thickness 1.5 cm.

Small, weathered fragment of a figure moving to left. The upper torso and right arm are preserved, and both the mantle and its diagonal ruffle at the top are visible.

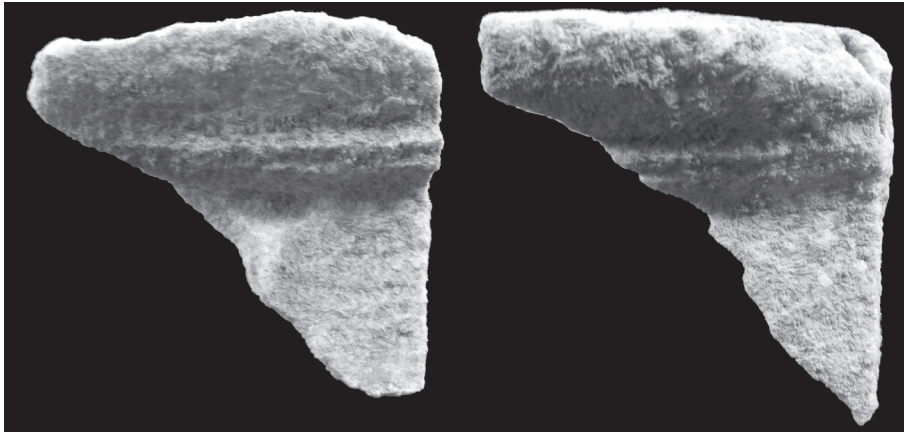


Figure 8.15. Left: F(S)57. Right: F(S)58. Photos C. Marconi.

F(S)56. 94.0016C. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.14 right)

Found near the limekiln on the E wall of the HCD (June 29, 1994). Recorded location: 15.00–19.00 E; 10.00–12.00 N. Preserved length 4.1 cm; preserved height 8.1 cm; preserved thickness 1.8 cm.

Very worn fragment, apparently from the torso of a figure moving to left. Traces of the lower part of the chiton and the overfall of the mantle are visible.

III. Frieze Fragments with Direction of Figures Uncertain

F(S)57. 93.0767. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.15 left)

Found along the S wall of the HCD (August 7, 1993).

Preserved length 14.7 cm; preserved height 12 cm; preserved thickness 11 cm.

Weathered fragment of the upper right corner of a frieze block. The top and right end of the block are preserved. The crowning molding consists of an ovolo, half round, and tiny fillet. The relief shows the polos of a figure. It is not clear in what direction the figure was moving. The distance between the top of the polos and the crowning molding measures ca. 1.5 cm.

F(S)58. 94.0254. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.15 right)

Found at the SE corner of the HCD (July 7, 1994). Recorded location: 19.00–23.00 E; 1.30 S–0.70 N.

Preserved length 13 cm; preserved height 14.5 cm; preserved thickness 7.3 cm.

Weathered fragment of the upper right corner of a frieze block. The top and right end of the block are preserved. The crowning molding consists of an ovolo, half round, and tiny fillet. There are no traces of relief on the preserved part of the background.

Dubia

87.1137. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.16 left)

Found on the Western Hill (July 10, 1987). Recorded location: 43.60–45.90 S; 4.00–7.00 W.

Preserved length 8.4 cm; preserved height 8.5 cm; preserved thickness 4.8 cm.

Very worn relief fragment. This fragment could be interpreted as depicting part of the upper right arm and upper torso of a figure moving to left. The upper right arm would be higher than usual for dancers on the frieze. Given its state of preservation, the attribution of this fragment to the frieze of the Hall of Choral Dancers remains hypothetical.

94.0324B. Samothrace Museum; in storage. (Fig. 8.16 right)

Found near the limekiln on the E wall of the HCD (July 21, 1994). Recorded location: 12.50–15.50 E; 4.00–6.00 N.

Preserved length 6.5 cm; preserved height 3.5 cm; preserved thickness 3.3 cm.

Very worn fragment with possible traces of relief. The tentative attribution to the frieze rests solely on the provenance of the piece.

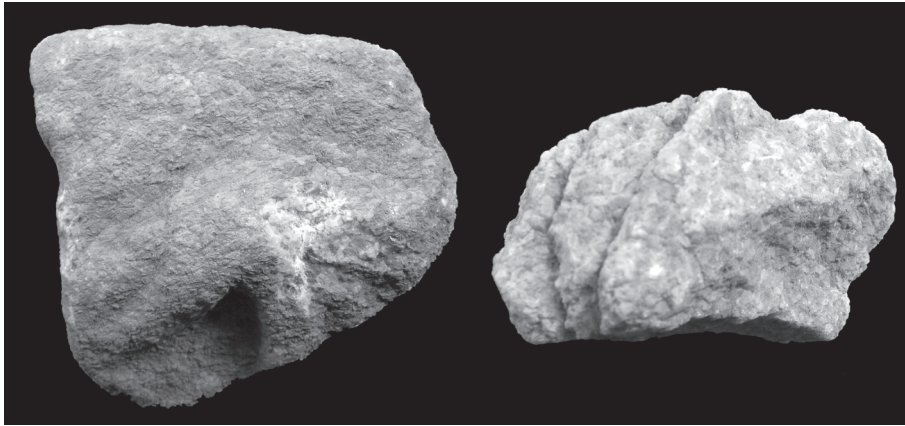


Figure 8.16. Left: F(S)Dubia 1. Right: F(S)Dubia 2. Photos C. Marconi.

IV. The Frieze: New Evidence

With regard to the structural and technical aspects of the frieze, the two new blocks, F(S)33 and F(S)34, differ in their thickness by ca. 2.4 cm. This difference comes close to the 2.3 cm maximum variation between the frieze blocks calculated in *Samothrace 5*.⁵ It may be noted that the new blocks were adjacent to one another.

The front faces of the new blocks are too worn to preserve the tapering effect seen on some of the known blocks. Through this effect, the upper parts of the figures were carved in higher relief than the lower, and would have been more clearly visible from below.

The rear faces of the new blocks are only roughly cut, showing pick-hammer and point marks. Their tops are roughly dressed with a point with the exception of a smooth margin along the front edge (clearly seen only on F(S)34). On F(S)34, the work with the point was followed by the use of the claw chisel. The same sequence of tool marks is seen on the bottom face of F(S)35 and F(S)42. Only traces of the point are visible on the bottom face of F(S)43, and only traces of the claw chisel are visible on the bottom face of F(S)45 and F(S)46. It seems likely, however, that the point and the claw chisel were normally used to dress the horizontal faces of the blocks. The vertical ends were carefully worked with anathyrosis, which can be seen on the two new blocks and on several new frieze fragments (F(S)35, F(S)42, and F(S)45).

The tops of the new blocks bear Π -clamp holes at both ends, located near the middle of each end. The length of these Π -clamps appears to have been the standard one for our building, ca. 20 cm. The tops of the new blocks also show cuttings for the dowels meant to secure the dentil course, placed longitudinally. The iron dowels themselves, originally embedded in molten lead, are also partially preserved. In addition, F(S)34 shows lower end dowel holes at both extremities: these were only partially attested on two of the previously known fragmentary blocks (F(S)12 and F(S)13). The cuttings for ceiling beams seen on the new blocks represent a significant improvement in our knowledge of the entablature and the ceiling of the building in the area of the two chambers. A similar cutting can be seen on the back of F(S)13.

Some of the new fragments indicate that parts of the frieze were not completely finished. Sometimes, the chisel marks in the background were not completely removed, as in the case of F(S)38. In some cases, the background between the figures was not cut down systematically. This is best seen on F(S)42, where only one hand is incised on the background and a drill channel follows the profile of the leg below. This fragment also indicates that a drill was used to outline the figures. F(S)50 may offer another case in which the background was not dressed down. It may be noted that of the blocks and fragments already known, one, F(S)11, is unfinished: it preserves a series of chisel marks, which create a channel in the background between the poloi of the first and second figure from the left. Here too the background of the relief was not carved to its full depth. In *Samothrace 5* there is only a vague allusion to this detail and there is no discussion of the fact that parts of the frieze were not completely finished. This unfinished state is hardly a surprise, given the considerable length of the frieze.

⁵ *Samothrace 5*, p. 66.

The new fragment F(S)52, with its beautifully preserved overfall, reveals a quality of workmanship superior to that documented thus far on the frieze, in particular on the best preserved pieces F(S)1 and F(S)12. Here it may be noted that the identification of different hands suggested in *Samothrace* 5, and the consequent attribution to them of various blocks and fragments of the frieze is problematic.⁶ To Hand A, at the time regarded as the best sculptor working on the frieze, were attributed block F(S)1 and the fragments F(S)2 and F(S)7. To Hand B, “a competent, even enterprising imitator” of Hand A, was attributed the fragmentary block F(S)12. To Hand C, a “less skilled and perceptive” assistant, were attributed the two blocks F(S)10 and F(S)11, and the fragments F(S)3, F(S)4, F(S)19, and F(S)22. Finally, to a fourth hand, Hand D, another less competent assistant, were attributed the fragments F(S)24, F(V)31, and F(V)32. These distinctions in terms of quality and hands between the sculptural remains of the frieze are not so clear-cut: I only point to the fact that on F(S)1 and F(S)12 the figures display facial features and a rendering of the overfall that although not identical are so close that they may well be the product of the same hand. In addition, the quality of F(S)3 is comparable to F(12), and it may be attributed to the same sculptor. The main point, however, is that too little is preserved of the frieze, and too much repetition was involved in its carving, to allow for the secure use of connoisseurship.

Regarding the question of attribution, the modest quality of the frieze should prevent its attribution to a major sculptor and his workshop. In *Samothrace* 5, however, the Propylon and its sculptures were attributed to Skopas, who was seen as the designing architect-sculptor.⁷ This attribution rests entirely on the comparison between a male head on a fragmentary coffer lid (C(S)3) and two heads from the pediments of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. It should be pointed out, however, that the style of the coffer lids is not homogeneous, and that several of the heads are definitely not “Skopasian.” In recent years, there has been increasing skepticism about the attribution of the sculptures of our building to Skopas, and rightly so.⁸

Regarding the subject, the new blocks and fragments show the usual procession of dancers and musicians moving in two directions. The figures wear the usual costume, consisting of a combination of chiton and diagonal mantle, plus a shawl-like mantle with swallowtail ends for one out of every two dancers. They also wear the usual low polos. The new fragment F(S)38 shows the lower part of a figure wearing a sandal on the right foot: the left foot is not preserved, and it is impossible to tell whether this figure had one foot bare. This figure is exceptional because all other dancers and musicians in the frieze are unshod – the norm for dancers – , as indicated by the lack of carved sandals. On F(S)38 the presence of a sandal goes together with the fact that the heel is raised less than usual. This is the case with the trace of a foot at the right of the new fragment F(S)37, and with the figure on the left on the new fragment F(S)45. This position of the foot diverges from what is normally seen on the rest of the frieze, where the dancers and musicians are carefully balanced on tiptoe. We do not have enough to conclude whether a different type of movement or dance was featured on this section of the frieze, and we have to take into account the possibility of variation without special significance within such a long frieze.

As for the musical instruments, either a kithara or a tympanon was played on F(S)33 and the *aulos* must have been played on F(S)35. However, the only instrument clearly preserved on the new fragments is a kithara, seen on F(S)36.

The new blocks and fragments of the frieze present the usual arrangement of dancers and musicians. The musicians are dancing and moving forward, leading the dancers to the sound of their instruments. The dancers are arranged in facing pairs and they are holding each other by their wrists, with the exception of the first dancer, who looks forward and grasps with her left (or right, depending on the direction) hand the drapery of the musician.

The new frieze blocks from the southeast corner of the building, F(S)33 and F(S)34, are particularly important as regards the number of dancers following the musician. The corner block F(S)33 shows on its long, east side, traces of nine figures moving to right: a musician is present at the right end followed by eight dancers. On its short, south side, the block shows traces of three more figures moving in the same direction: the figure at the right end was a musician, followed by two dancers. It is thus confirmed that the long, east side of this

⁶ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 250–252.

⁷ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 142–146, 170–172, 233–266, 303; cf. also Lehmann 1973 and Stewart 1977, pp. 107–108.

⁸ Zagdoun 1989, p. 163; *ÉtThas* XV, pp. 93–95; Ridgway 1997, pp. 143–144; Rolley 1994–99, II, pp. 272–274; Vorster 2007, p. 830. For Skopas’ Pothos and its problematic connection with *Samothrace*, see Palagia 2000, p. 221.

block represents a group of nine figures, consisting of one musician leading eight dancers. On the adjoining block to the right, F(S)34, one sees eight dancers: the first one on the left looks back, toward the musician on the adjoining block (a composition found also on F(S)1: see below), while the first on the opposite side grasps the drapery of a musician on the right, carved on the next block, now missing. It is evident that each of the first two groups on the east frieze was made up of nine figures: one musician followed by eight dancers.

Of the elements of the frieze already known, only F(S)1 provides information regarding the number of young women composing each group. This number is different from that documented on F(S)33 and F(S)34. Near the middle of F(S)1, a block which is missing its right end and may originally have been much longer, a kithara player moves to right. This musician is leading a group of seven dancers and is preceded by a group of five dancers, the last of whom turns her head in the direction of the musician. The last dancer in the group following the kithara player, placed next to the left end of the block, has her right hand free. Since the hand of this figure is not being held at the wrist, one can exclude the possibility of the presence of another dancer to the left, and conclude that the left part of this block showed a group of eight figures, with the musician leading a group of seven dancers.

The Reconstruction of the Frieze

In *Samothrace 5*, based on the larger number of left-moving figures known at the time, it was suggested that the two files of dancers started at the rear of the Propylon and converged upon the facade, the starting point being the southwest corner of the building.⁹ In the sixth edition of *Samothrace. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, it was suggested that the dancers moved in two directions, beginning at the southwest corner of the building and proceeding toward the center of the facade.¹⁰ I would like to propose a new analysis of the problem, which must begin with a reconsideration of the provenance of the sculptures.¹¹ In order to simplify matters, I will discuss the context of findspots by using the cardinal points of the compass.

The blocks and fragments of the frieze come from a variety of places. Some were reused as spolia during the Early Modern era and were found outside the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, as close as Palaïopolis and as far as Ano Meria. The reuse of the sculptures as building material started earlier, in the Byzantine era, as indicated by the discovery of fragments of the frieze in the Byzantine fort on the Western Hill and in the vicinity of limekilns on both the Eastern Hill and the central section of the Sanctuary. This repeated moving and shifting of the elements of the frieze in the post-antique era accounts for the fact that the findspots of the sculptures were scattered all over the Sanctuary: elements of the frieze were found not only in the central section, including the areas of the Rotunda of Arsinoe and between the Hieron and the Southern Necropolis, but also on the Eastern and Western Hills. To these post-antique activities needs to be added the work carried out at the site by the Austrian archaeologists: several fragments have in fact been found in the dumps created by the Austrian mission in the 1870s. Since they were removed from their original context, none of the blocks and fragments found in these locations can be used for the purpose of developing a reconstruction of the arrangement of the frieze.

The fact that fragments of the frieze were found scattered far and wide within the Sanctuary indicates that we must exercise caution in assessing the findspots of fragments from even inside the Hall of Choral Dancers or the vicinity for it is now impossible to tell whether or not they were found in the position in which they fell. This situation applies to fragments found inside the porch and to the west of the building. The situation is different if a concentration of fragments was found in the same area, as is the case with those found in 1993–1995 along the south side of the building. Even more significant are those cases in which blocks and fragments of the frieze were found together with other elements of the entablature, particularly the geison-

⁹ *Samothrace 5*, pp. 66, 201, 233.

¹⁰ Lehmann 1998, p. 75.

¹¹ The sources of information for the provenance of the blocks and fragments of the frieze of the Hall of Choral Dancers consist of both publications and archival materials. Publications include the preliminary reports of the excavations and *Samothrace 5*. The archival materials include the excavation diaries – one for each year of operation – the catalogues of finds from the site, and labels attached to the fragments discovered after the publication of *Samothrace 5*. Oral history, of course, also plays a role. The provenance of the blocks and fragments of the frieze has been systematically investigated in recent years by Rachel McGarry, in the summer of 2000, and by Genevieve Hendricks, in the summer of 2007. Their work has been a precious source of information for my research.

sima and the dentils. This is what happened along the north face of the porch, the west side of the building, and at its southwest and southeast corners. In these cases, it is reasonable to assume that the elements of the frieze were found close to where they fell from the building.

Several blocks and fragments of the frieze were excavated along the north face of the porch. Since they were found in association with other elements of the elevation of the porch, including the entablature, they were almost certainly found close to where they fell. However, the chaotic context in which these elements were found should prevent us from assuming that their findspots correspond exactly to their original placement on the frieze.

For two blocks we have a significant amount of information about the findspots. F(S)1 was found in correspondence with the central section of what we now know to be the facade of the porch. That this block belonged to this part of the building is confirmed by its size. The two new blocks from the southeast corner of the Hall of Choral Dancers, F(S)33 and F(S)34, preserve their entire length, and they measure, respectively, 112 and 99 cm. Their length is thus considerably shorter than the length of F(S)1 which is now 165 cm long and missing its right end. The considerable length of F(S)1 entails its placement above the colonnade of the porch and confirms that it was found in situ. The findspot of one of the fragments of F(S)12 was the same as F(S)1. However, other fragments of the same block were found in other locations within this area.

Of the blocks and fragments of the frieze found in this area, i.e. north of the building, F(S) 1 and F(S)2 show the dancers moving to right. Five others show the dancers moving to left: F(S)12, F(S)15, F(S)19, F(S)20, and F(S)28 (A). In the case of F(S)21, the original direction of the figure remains unclear. One of the fragments composing F(S)12, which shows the dancers moving to left, was found together with F(S)1, which shows the dancers moving in the opposite direction. Still, it is safe to say that the frieze above the porch must have featured dancers moving in both directions.

The fragment F(S)25 was found along the west wall of the Hall of Choral Dancers, near the altar in front of the Hieron, together with a fragment of the sima. Given its findspot, this tiny fragment could belong to the west frieze, and more precisely, to its southern half. The fragment depicts a dancer moving to left.

Three fragments were found near the northeast corner of the Hieron, two in the excavations of the Austrian mission, and one in the excavations of the Institute of Fine Arts. The fragments now in Vienna, F(V)31 and F(V)32, were found together with a corner geison-sima block, a sima fragment, and an antefix of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Given this association and their findspots, these two fragments must belong to the southwest corner of the building. It is impossible, however, to establish whether they originally belonged to the west or to the south frieze, a situation that also applies to F(S)8 (B). F(V)31 and F(V)32 show dancers moving to left, whereas F(S)8 (B) shows the dancer moving in the opposite direction.

Four fragments were found in recent years during excavations along the south side of the Hall of Choral Dancers: their concentration in this area suggests that they may have belonged to this side of the building. F(S)37, F(S)38, and F(S)39 show the dancers moving to right. The direction of the dancer on F(S)57 remains unclear.

Two frieze blocks, F(S)33 and (S)34, were found in 1994 at the southeast corner of the Hall of Choral Dancers, together with a corner geison-sima block and fragments of dentils. Given their association with other elements of the entablature and their findspots, they must belong to the southeast corner of the building. John Kurtich has restored the frieze block F(S)34 adjacent to the corner frieze block F(S)33, along the east side of the building. This restoration is correct: although F(S)34 is thicker (38 cm) than F(S)33 (35.6 cm), once their fronts are aligned, the two clamp holes on their top surfaces, at the right end of F(S)33 and at the left end of F(S)34 respectively, also align. It may be added that the two frieze blocks were not only excavated in the same area, they were also found close to one another, F(S)34 to the north of F(S)33. Given the poor state of preservation of the relief on both blocks and the damage to their ends, it is impossible to confirm that the right forearm, the right ankle, and the right heel of the first dancer on the left on F(S)34 were carved at the right end of the long side of F(S)33, but it must have been so. Taken together, the two blocks show the procession coming from left/west towards the east/right end of the south frieze, turning around the southeast corner, and moving without interruption towards the right/north along the east side of the building, for a length of approximately 211 cm. All the figures are thus shown moving to right.

Of the two frieze fragments found at the southeast corner of the Hall of Choral Dancers, F(S)58 preserves no relief figures, while F(S)40 shows part of a dancer moving to right, in the same direction as the figures on the frieze blocks F(S)33 and F(S)34.

Based on the direction of the dancers on the blocks and fragments of the frieze that are more likely to have been found near where they fell from the building, one must conclude that the procession moved out from the southwest corner of the building, and not from the center of the south side: this is suggested by F(S)8, which was found near the southwest corner of the building and depicts a dancer moving to right. From the southwest corner, the procession would have proceeded towards the center of the facade, with one series of dancers moving from right to left along the west side of the building, and the other series of dancers moving from left to right along the south and east sides of the building. The solution proposed in the sixth edition of *Samothrace. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum* appears to be correct.

This implies, of course, that most, if not all the figural decoration of the frieze consisted of a continuous and uniform flow of dancers, encircling the building with their movements. This is assumed in all discussions of this frieze. This assumption, which is partly derived from the repetitive character of the representation on the extant elements of the frieze, is supported by two facts. First, all preserved blocks and fragments of the frieze depict only dancers and musicians, and second, these figures are found on all four sides of the building. This combination of facts makes the assumption very likely, although only a fraction (approximately one tenth) of the original extent of the frieze is preserved. In fact, the combined lengths of the surviving blocks and fragments of the frieze make up only 14–15 m, while the estimated original length of the frieze is 114–115 m.

However, there might be evidence for an interruption in the flow of dancers. At the left end of F(S)1 (Fig. 8.17), the first figure, last in a series of seven dancers following a kithara player, not only has her right arm free, she also does not look back. The first detail indicates that there was no dancer at the left, while the second excludes the presence of a musician behind her. On the frieze, in fact, the last dancer regularly looks back, towards the musician introducing the next group: this is seen on the right half of F(S)1, and on F(S)10, F(S)11, and F(S)34. That no musician was featured on the adjoining block to the left is also suggested by the absence of traces of a musical instrument on the left margin of F(S)1, above the right hand of the last dancer. A kithara, tympanon or *aulos* would have left traces. Finally, it may be noted that while on the rest of the frieze the figures generally take up all the available field of each block, coming close to the edge (cf. F(S)4, F(S)33, F(S)34), on F(S)1 there is some blank space beyond the extended right hand of the dancer.

These irregular features could be explained if block F(S)1, which we know stood above the colonnade of the porch, was placed above the recessed central section and was the first from the left. In this position at the corner, it would have made no sense to carve on the margin of the block the instrument held by the musician on the adjoining block on the return of the east wing, nor would it have made much sense for the dancer on F(S)1 to look back.

As an alternative, one might suppose that the flow of dancers was interrupted at least once. This was the solution suggested in *Samothrace 5*, with rather far-reaching consequences. Commenting on F(S)1, Martha Leeb Hadzi concluded that the first figure from the left “may be read as evidence that the composition and iconography of the frieze may not have been quite as repetitious as the surviving blocks suggest at first glance, and may indeed have presented a variety of unexpected actions and groupings.”¹² This conclusion was followed by the hypothesis that a distinctive subject would have occupied the center of the frieze on the facade: the Wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, which the maidens on the frieze would be celebrating with their dances.

In *Samothrace 5* the case was made that one block could be associated with this central scene featuring the Wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia:¹³ block Fα in the Catalogue. It was once built into the Gattilusi towers and is now lost, known only from brief references and from a drawing made by the travelers Blau and Schlottmann who visited Samothrace in 1854. This drawing shows six and a half dancers, lacking poloi, frontally posed with their heads turned three quarters to the left. In *Samothrace 5* it was rightly argued that the drawing does not reproduce F(S)10 or F(S)11. The number of dancers is in fact six and a half in the drawing, six on F(S)11 and seven on F(S)10. The drawing must feature a block that is now lost. In *Samothrace 5* the frontal pose of the dancers and the sideways direction of their glances was explained by suggesting that they were watching the scene on the center of the facade from a lateral position, and thus would have originally been placed on the return of one of the projecting wings. This suggestion is problematic, because it makes too much of the source. In the drawing, the rendering of the hair and dress of the dancers is clearly inaccurate, and so are

¹² *Samothrace 5*, p. 203.

¹³ *Samothrace 5*, pp. 10–11, 199, 205–206.



Figure 8.17. F(S)1. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.

their gestures: for example, the figures grasp each other's hands, instead of their wrists; it can therefore not be regarded as a reliable source of information for the original composition and iconography of this lost element of the frieze.

Maybe the belief that the dancers on our frieze converged towards a central scene prevented the authors of *Samothrace 5* from the correct reading of one of the fragments in their catalogue, which seems crucial for our understanding of the original articulation of the frieze. The fragment in question is F(S)6 (Fig. 8.18), which was excavated as early as 1950. On the left side one sees the advanced left leg and part of the central drapery folds of a dancer moving to right. On the damaged right side there is another element in relief, which in *Samothrace 5* is described as "some other compositional element, unprecedented among the surviving portions of the frieze, that stood here."¹⁴



Figure 8.18. F(S)6. Photo C. Marconi.

As a matter of fact, this element is, quite clearly, the lower right leg and foot of a dancer moving to left. This means that F(S)6 preserves a segment of the frieze in which the two processions of dancers moving to the right and to the left once met.

F(S)6 was a surface find inside the southeast corner of the western aisle of the Hall of Choral Dancers. If this findspot corresponds to the original location of this section of the frieze on the building, one could conclude that the two processions of dancers seen on this fragment met in the middle of the frieze on the back of the building. This, however, would have far reaching implications, for it would indicate an arrangement of the dancers very different from the one discussed earlier: rather than revolving uniformly around the building in two processions, the groups of dancers would have been moving in different directions, meeting in different parts of the frieze. There is no reason, however, to take this possibility under consideration, because the provenance of this fragment is highly suspicious. F(S)6 was found near an Austrian dump, excavated in 1950 within the southeast corner of the western aisle. Although the fragment was not found in the dump, the fact that it was a surface find from near the dump makes it very likely that it was discarded. In which case, of course, it could have belonged to any part of the frieze, including the central sector on the north facade, where the meeting of the two processions would be expected to take place. In that case, one could explain the irregular features of F(S)1 by placing the block at the inner left corner of the recessed central section.

In conclusion, it is possible to suppose that the frieze of the Hall of Choral Dancers represented an uninterrupted flow of dancers moving in two directions. The two processions moved from the southwest corner of the building – the shorter one to the left, and the longer one to the right – and converged towards the main facade, where they met in the middle of the frieze. Given that the frieze was 114–115 m long, and given that 1 meter of the frieze could accommodate some 8 dancers, as seen on F(S)34, one would conclude that there were originally approximately 912–920 figures.

¹⁴ *Samothrace 5*, p. 181.

The Function of the Hall of Choral Dancers

What was the function of the Hall of Choral Dancers? In *Samothrace 5*, in which the structure was reconstructed as a precinct with an attached propylon, it was suggested that the precinct was accessible to initiates and uninitiated alike, and that it was used for the performance of ritual dances and, on the occasion of the annual festival, of a ritual drama featuring the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia.¹⁵ Underlying this suggestion is the assumption that the representation of a ritual on the exterior decoration of a sacred building would refer to performances held within the building itself. Comparisons with other representations of rituals in sacred Greek architecture, such as the Parthenon frieze, show that this is not necessarily the case.

More recently, Clinton tentatively identified the Hall of Choral Dancers as the Telesterion of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the basis of the conspicuous size of the building, its central location, and early date.¹⁶ This suggestion comes as part of a new reconstruction of the initiation rituals on Samothrace, which differs considerably from that proposed by Karl Lehmann. This is not the place to discuss this new reconstruction by Clinton, which is no less conjectural than that of Lehmann, and is in fact more problematic, beginning with the idea that those who had not undergone preliminary *myesis* were prohibited from entering the Sanctuary. Here, I would like to focus on the identification of the Hall of Choral Dancers as a Telesterion.

The crucial piece of evidence that would lend support to this identification is missing: no evidence for benches or bench supports has ever been found in the two, long aisles of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Here it may be added that seats or benches were an important feature of Telesteria.¹⁷ One thinks, first, of the Telesterion at Eleusis, which since the time of Peisistratos was a large, square, hypostyle hall, with flights of steps against the walls for the spectators.¹⁸ In addition to Eleusis, one may mention the Kabirion at Lemnos. Here, the earliest Telesterion at the site, an almost rectangular structure (6.40×13.50 m) built on the south terrace during the 7th century, had benches on at least three sides.¹⁹ Wooden seats have also been restored in the lateral naves of the cella of the new Telesterion (32.90×45.50 m), built in the Hellenistic period (ca. 200), on the north terrace.²⁰ Finally, seats were also present in the lateral naves of the third Telesterion, built on the south terrace after a fire destroyed the Hellenistic building towards the end of the 2nd century A.D.²¹

The only evidence for benches in the Hall of Choral Dancers comes from the porch.²² The evidence consists of marble bench supports and thin marble bases originally let into the marble pavement. These bench supports date to the late Hellenistic period, based on the style of their decoration. One almost completely preserved bench support comes from Chora. We know the provenance of two of the three preserved fragments of bench supports: one was found east of the porch of the Hieron, the other north of the porch of the Hall of Choral Dancers, next to the best-preserved column shaft. All of the three known marble bases come from the porch, which is the reason why in *Samothrace 5* the corresponding seats were restored on the “terrace,” meaning the porch. Based on our knowledge of the building, the only other possible location for these benches would have been the western aisle, which was paved with a marble floor. However, the preserved slabs of this marble floor – more than one slab was found in situ by the Austrians, and slabs were found in different locations within the room – do not show any indication of cuttings or openings for bench bases. In conclusion, there is no evidence for seats in the two aisles of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Benches were added to the building in the late Hellenistic period, and they were all in the porch, maybe between the two doors leading into the aisles. The absence of benches or seats in the aisles can be used, in my view, against Clinton’s suggestion that the Hall of Choral Dancers served as the Telesterion. The architecture of the Hieron appears much better suited for this function.

The area of the Hall of Choral Dancers was a place of ritual activity, including animal sacrifices and libations, by the 7th century.²³ The Kabirion of Lemnos offers important, comparable evidence for the materials

¹⁵ *Samothrace 5*, pp. 222–233, 273–289. See also Lehmann 1951, p. 18; Lehmann 1952, pp. 30 and 38.

¹⁶ Clinton 2003, p. 61.

¹⁷ Hellmann 2002–2006, II, pp. 240–249.

¹⁸ Travlos 1988, pp. 91–169; Gruben 2001, pp. 235–246.

¹⁹ Beschi 2003b, pp. 969–980.

²⁰ Beschi 2004.

²¹ Beschi 1996–97, pp. 36–37; Beschi 2003b, pp. 965–969.

²² *Samothrace 5*, pp. 28, 32, 50, 289–292, figs 238–239, pl. LIV.2.

²³ *Samothrace 5*, pp. 267–270.

published in *Samothrace* 5, and related in that publication to this earliest phase of cult. This is particularly the case for the G2–3 kantharoi, which were used at Lemnos for ritual libations.²⁴ The use of this area for sacrifices continued with the installation of two *bothroi*.²⁵ Conze and Hauser excavated these pits in the middle of the west aisle of the Hall of Choral Dancers, on its longitudinal axis, beneath the floor of the Late Classical building. The Austrians apparently found no ashes, pottery or terracotta figurines inside the pits. This should indicate that the *bothroi* were meant to receive libations or the blood of the victims.²⁶ Unfortunately, there is no evidence for dating these pits (one, however, looks Archaic). On present evidence it is also impossible to tell whether these *bothroi* stood in the open-air or within the Archaic building of Doric order evidenced by the fragment of a geison now in Vienna.²⁷ It should be noted that this architectural fragment was apparently found in the area of the two pits.

The next stage in the cultic use of this area is represented by the construction, in the third quarter of the 4th century, of the Hall of Choral Dancers. That this building had cultic functions is indicated by the presence, in the western aisle, in the middle of the room near the entrance, of two openings in the floor. The evidence for these openings consists of a few fragments of their marble frames, found in 1875 and 1950.²⁸ The original location of one of the two openings is indicated by the discovery in 1875 of part of the original frame still in situ.²⁹ Since the evidence for these openings consists only of their marble frames, it is impossible to tell whether they served as *bothroi* or *escharai*. In *Samothrace* 5 they were identified as an *eschara* and a *bothros*. This identification was based on the analogy with their predecessors, which were mistakenly identified as an *eschara* and a *bothros*, but which were in fact both *bothroi*. It is best to think that the two openings in the floor of the western aisle of the Hall of Choral Dancers were *bothroi*, and that there was continuity in the use of the area for the performance of chthonic or heroic sacrifices. The chthonic nature of the cult in the western aisle is further suggested by the placement of its floor at a lower level than that of the porch. To access this aisle from the porch, one had to descend three steps.

It is regrettable that we know so little about the identity of the Megaloi Theoi of Samothrace, and that their identification in modern scholarship has proved so controversial.³⁰ Some have followed Mnaseas and identified the gods Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and Kasmilos with Demeter, Persephone, Hades, and Hermes, while others have suggested a Triad, consisting of two male deities associated with a goddess with attributes similar to those of Kybele, to which the fourth figure in Mnaseas' list, Kasmilos would have been added later. Be that as it may, the sacrificial pits found in the Hall of Choral Dancers would be appropriate for the cult of gods in both lists: *bothroi* have a strong association with the cult of Demeter and Kore, and they are also documented in the cult of Kybele, such as at Priene.³¹ Still, we also have to take into account, when speaking of *bothroi*, the possibility of heroic cult. We have a fairly good knowledge of heroes on Samothrace thanks to the literary sources, which mention with some insistence, as we shall see, the names of Elektra and her children Dardanos, Eetion/Iasion, and Harmonia.³² The myth of Elektra and her children, at least that pertaining to Dardanos and Eetion, and its connection with Samothrace date back to the Archaic period, and their celebration played a part in Samothracian festivals. That they were the recipients of sacrifices within the Sanctuary of the Great Gods should be expected and has been suggested in the past.

²⁴ Beschi 1996–97, pp. 30, 34, 70, 72–100, pls 8–17; Beschi 2000, pp. 77–79; Beschi 2003a, pp. 329–341. Cf. Graham 2002, p. 249.

²⁵ Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 15–16, 21–22, pls IV–VII. The interpretation of the two structures as *bothroi* was retained by later scholars: see esp. Yavis 1949, p. 220, nos. 19–20. In *Samothrace* 5, p. 271 it was suggested instead that the south pit (*Opfergrube* A) served as an *eschara*. This suggestion must be rejected: it was based on a misreading of the structure, described as being framed by broken stones, and not, as it was, by ashlar blocks, and does not take into account the evidence for a lid on top of the pit.

²⁶ Cf. the Sanctuary of the Chthonic Deities in Agrigento, which also provides parallels for *bothroi* of modest size, and for the association of *bothroi* of a circular and rectangular form: Yavis 1949, pp. 71–75, nos. 2–5; p. 131, no. 2; Hinz 1998, pp. 79–90.

²⁷ Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 15, 22–24, pl. VIII, figs I–II; Dinsmoor 1950, p. 221 n. 2; *Samothrace* 3, II, pp. 52–53, fig. 364; *Samothrace* 5, p. 17, fig. 17. The Lehmanns have connected this cornice block with an Archaic predecessor of the Hieron; we now know that this phase of the Hieron did not exist (cf. Cole 1984, pp. 13–16).

²⁸ *Samothrace* 5, p. 44, pls LVI, LVII.1–3, LVIII.1–2.

²⁹ Cf. Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pl. II.

³⁰ *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 101–103, s.v. Initiation (W. Burkert), with further literature.

³¹ Demeter and Kore: see, more recently, Hinz 1998, *passim*. Priene: Wiegand and Schrader 1904, p. 171; Rumscheid 1998, pp. 98–99, fig. 80.

³² *Samothrace* 1, nos. 53–75.

The plan of the Hall of Choral Dancers is unusual but not unique, for sacred architecture. Although on a much more monumental scale and with deeper chambers, it is reminiscent of a category of buildings that consist of a portico with two deep single rooms behind that was identified by Coulton long ago.³³ Two such buildings are found on Thasos and another on Kos. The buildings on Thasos, in the sanctuary at Alikí (probably consecrated to Apollo), have the same basic plan, consisting of a shallow portico with columns in antis and two rooms in the back. These two rooms are of different width, and the north, which is larger, has an *eschara* in its middle. The two rooms were accessible through doors in the back wall of the portico, and there was no communication between them.³⁴ The south building, almost square in plan (11.60×13m), is dated to ca. 500. The north building, also square in plan but larger (16×16.50m), is dated in its original phase to ca. 530–525. The two buildings are not regarded as temples, but rather as places for the gathering of worshippers and for the consumption of sacrificial meals. Building D in the Asklepíeion of Kos is located on the middle terrace, immediately to the south of the distyle, Ionic temple (ca. 280).³⁵ In its original phase (D₁), dated to the first half of the 3rd century, this building consisted of two rooms with a Doric porch in front. The building was almost square in plan, and measured 12.50×13m. Nothing was found during the excavation that could help to identify its original function, but based on its form and placement within the sanctuary, this building has generally been regarded as a place for ritual incubation. The Hall of Choral Dancers seems to translate into a more monumental form the basic plan documented on Thasos and Kos. These parallels, taken together with the evidence for ritual activity found in the building, strongly suggest that our building was used for sacrificial purposes and solemn gatherings, most likely, given its size and central position within the sanctuary, on the occasion of the annual summer festival.³⁶

The Interpretation of the Frieze

In *Samothrace 5* it was suggested that the center of the frieze on the facade featured the Wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, and that the maidens on the rest of the frieze would be celebrating this event with their dances. It was also suggested that this mythical wedding was performed as a sacred drama in the Temenos, resulting in a correspondence between ritual action and figural decoration that in this same volume was posited for the dance, as I will discuss later.³⁷ As we shall see, the idea that the subject of the frieze represented the Wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia was first suggested by Kern in 1919, but it is in *Samothrace 5* that it found its most systematic expression.

The story of Harmonia and of her wedding played a major role in Samothracian myth. The best source for this connection is certainly Diodoros' account of the island in Book V.³⁸ After describing the flood that affected Samothrace in the earliest times, the survival of the local inhabitants, and the establishment of a government by Saon, Diodoros introduces Dardanos, Iasion, and Harmonia, born of Zeus and Elektra, daughter of Atlas. Writing around the middle of the 1st century B.C., in close contact with Rome, Diodoros was particularly interested in Dardanos, the founder of Troy but was no less interested in the Samothracian mysteries and the cult of Kybele. For this reason Diodoros pays particular attention to Iasion, the husband of Kybele and father of Korymbos, who was reputedly the first to initiate strangers into the mysteries "and by this means to bring the initiatory rite to high esteem." It so happened, the account by Diodoros continues,

³³ Coulton 1976, p. 7; see, more recently, Hellmann 2002–2006, II, pp. 222–225 with a discussion of other examples, including the Thearion in the Sanctuary of Apollo on Aigina.

³⁴ Coulton 1976, pp. 7, 288; J. Servais in *ÉtThas* IX, pp. 3–75; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, pp. 162–164, figs 108–111.

³⁵ P. Schazmann in Herzog 1932, pp. 49–51; Coulton 1976, pp. 7 n. 2; 246; Gruben 2001, p. 444; Hellmann 2002–2006, II, pp. 203, 263.

³⁶ Pace Knell 1995, p. 62 (followed by Sinn [*ThesCRA* IV, 2005, p. 73, no. 9, s.v. Cult Places. Greece (U. Sinn et al.)], the marble blocks of uniform height (34–36 cm) inscribed with *theōroi* lists, found on the island and attributed by Benndorf to the walls of our building (Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, pp. 99–101; *contra* see *Samothrace 2*, I, p. 62; *Samothrace 5*, pp. 17–19 and n. 45; Cole 1984, pp. 55–56) did not belong here. The marble walls of the Hall of Choral Dancers were made of courses of binders alternating with pairs of courses of stretchers. The height of the blocks inscribed with the *theōroi* lists simply does not correspond to the height of the binders (23–26 cm) or of the stretchers (63–67 cm).

³⁷ *Samothrace 5*, pp. 201, 231–233, 273, 288–289.

³⁸ Diodorus 5.48–49 = *Samothrace 1*, nos. 32 and 142.

that when Kadmos arrived in Samothrace in his search for Europe, he was not only initiated into the local mysteries, he also married Harmonia, sister of his initiator, Iasion. The wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia is then the object of a detailed description by Diodoros, primarily because on the occasion of its celebration Elektra presented the new couple with the gift of the sacred rites of the Great Mother. After describing the wedding, Diodoros returns to Iasion, Dardanos, and the mysteries of Samothrace, emphasizing the fact that the most famous ancient heroes and demigods wanted to be initiated. In Diodoros' narrative, the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia is the centerpiece of Samothracian myth, and has a strong connection to the mysteries, the initiation of strangers, and the surge of popularity of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. In that regard, Kadmos is sort of an archetypal figure: as one of the first strangers to be initiated, he embodies the aspiration of Samothrace to acquire an international reputation.

The story of Kadmos and Harmonia and its connection with the Samothracian mysteries was much older than Diodoros. In the extant fragments of the Hesiodic *Catalogues*, which refer to Elektra, Iasion, and Dardanos, Harmonia is not mentioned.³⁹ However, in the last third of the 5th century Hellanikos of Mytilene, in his *Trōika*, mentions Elektra/Elektryone and her three children, Dardanos, Eetion, and Harmonia. Hellanikos also recounts the abduction of Harmonia by Kadmos and their subsequent move to Thebes.⁴⁰ By the time of Hellanikos all the players in Diodoros' narrative were in place. Our next source is Ephoros (ca. 400–330), who again makes Harmonia the daughter of Elektra, and mentions her abduction by Kadmos and their subsequent move to Thebes. The source is a scholiast to Euripides, who adds: “and even now in Samothrace they go in quest of her in their festivals (*en tais heortais*).”⁴¹ This has often been taken as an indication that the initiates in the Samothracian mysteries went in search of Harmonia, and that a sacred drama featuring the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia marked the culmination of the initiation ritual.⁴² However, it seems unlikely that Ephoros would have revealed the content of a secret ritual that should not be divulged. Moreover, by using the word *heortai*, instead of *teletai* or *mystēria*, the text seems to refer to public festivals.⁴³ The next source is Idomeneus (also identified with Idomeneus of Lampsakos, ca. 350–270), the author of a *History of Samothrace*. We hear of his interest in the myth from the same sources for Hellanikos, the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios. According to the scholia, Idomeneus dealt, in the first book of his *History*, with the abduction of Harmonia by Kadmos and apparently also with the rest of her family.⁴⁴ With Idomeneus we are confronting, for the first time, a monographic work on Samothrace, one in which the myth seems to have played a significant role in the early history of the island. To the 3rd century also belongs Mnaseas of Patara, a periegetic writer who wrote of Dardanos, Iason, and the marriage of Kadmos with Harmonia.⁴⁵ Mnaseas is important because he provides us with the list of the secret names of the Great Gods: this list includes the name of Kadmilos. It is clear that behind the success of the myth of Kadmos on Samothrace was a play on words between the names Kadmos-Kadmilos.⁴⁶ In the 2nd century we have the earliest evidence for the active interest of the people of Samothrace in promoting this myth: around 200 the people of Samothrace awarded a golden crown to the tragic poet Dymas from Iasos for a drama centered on Dardanos, while around 100 they expressed their gratitude to the poet Herodes from Priene for an epic poem on Dardanos, Eetion, Kadmos and Harmonia.⁴⁷ Finally, around the time in which Diodoros was writing, Demagoras of Samos, the author of a work on Trojan or Samothracian antiquities, recounted both the genealogy of Harmonia and her abduction by Kadmos. Two interesting details of Demagoras' narrative are preserved: that Kadmos saw Harmonia while being initiated, and that he carried her off with the assistance of Athena.⁴⁸

³⁹ Frr. 177, 180 MW: *Samothrace* 1, no. 70.

⁴⁰ Scholia Laurentiana to Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 1.916 and Scholia Parisina to Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 1.915–916 = *Samothrace* 1, nos. 70–70a.

⁴¹ Scholia to Euripides, *Phoenissae* 7 = *Samothrace* 1, no. 75.

⁴² Robert in Preller 1894, I, p. 856; *RE* X, 1919, coll. 1427–1429, s.v. Kabeiros und Kabeiroi (O. Kern); Daumas 1998, pp. 230–235; Clinton 2003, p. 67.

⁴³ So Hemberg 1950, pp. 106–107; Lehmann 1952, p. 30 and n. 41; pp. 37–38; Chapouthier, Salač, and Salviat 1956, pp. 143–144; Cole 1984, pp. 3–4; 48; Rocchi 1989, pp. 36–38; Rutherford 2007, p. 288.

⁴⁴ Scholia Laurentiana to Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 1.916 and Scholia Parisina to Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 1.915–916 = *Samothrace* 1, nos. 70–70a.

⁴⁵ Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* s.v. Dardanos = *Samothrace* 1, no. 65.

⁴⁶ Rocchi 1989, pp. 34–35; Burkert 1993, p. 187.

⁴⁷ Dymas: *I.Iasos* p. 153; Rutherford 2007. Herodes: *I.Priene* pp. 68–69; Merkelbach 1995.

⁴⁸ Scholia to Euripides, *Phoenissae* 7 = *Samothrace* 1, no. 75.

There is no evidence for local interest in the myth of Kadmos and Harmonia before the 2nd century. However, in the 4th century the myth had already become an important part of the early history of Samothrace, as indicated by the work of Idomeneus. For that reason, it would be fully legitimate to expect that this myth could have been featured on a major structure built at this time in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. In principle, the possibility that the dancers on the frieze could be celebrating that wedding is also very appealing, taking into consideration the fact that dance was an integral part of weddings in ancient Greek culture.⁴⁹ However, the literary tradition, the iconography of the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia, and the material evidence concerning the frieze all militate against both such a possibility and the reconstruction of the frieze proposed in *Samothrace* 5.⁵⁰

The earliest literary reference to the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia is in Hesiod, *Theogony* (937). Among the children of Ares and Aphrodite the poet mentions Harmonia, “whom high-spirited Kadmos made his wife.” The next sources, Theognis (15–18) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.86–96), are emphatic about the gods’ participation. Thus, Theognis mentions the presence of the Mousai and Charites, who came and sang, while Pindar draws a parallel between the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia and that of Peleus and Thetis. At both events, Pindar says, the Mousai sang and the gods attended the banquet and gave presents to the groom. The wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia was also one of the subjects of Pindar’s *Hymn for the Thebans* (frg. 29, 6–7 Maehler; cf. also dith. II frg. 70 b, 27–30 Maehler). Pindar seems to have played a critical role in shaping the subsequent literary tradition of the wedding, particularly as regards the emphasis on the role of music and singing. Centuries later, Pausanias (9.12.3) still seems to echo the poet, mentioning the version according to which, on the occasion of the wedding, the singing of the Muses took place in the agora of Thebes. After Pindar, the next source describing the event in some detail is Diodoros (5.49.1). He begins by observing that this was the first wedding for which the gods provided the marriage feast, and then proceeds to describe in detail the gifts of the gods and goddesses to the bride and groom: Demeter gave the fruit of grain, Hermes the lyre, Athena the necklace, a robe, and the *aulos*, and Elektra the sacred rites of the Great Mother of the Gods, together with cymbals, tympana, and the ecstatic revelers of her ritual (*meta kymbalōn kai tympanōn kai tōn orgiazontōn*). At the feast, adds Diodoros, Apollo played the kithara, the Muses their *auloi*, and the rest of the gods spoke fair and variously contributed to the success of the celebration. Diodoros is particularly emphatic about the large turnout of gods and goddesses; Apollodoros (3.4.2) takes it a step further by stating that on the occasion of the wedding all the gods left the sky to reach Thebes, where they feasted and celebrated the marriage with hymns. Apollodoros does not fail to mention the presents given by Kadmos to his bride: a robe and the infamous necklace wrought by Hephaistos.

While the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia plays an important role in literary sources, the situation is quite different in the visual arts, which privilege the episode of Kadmos and the dragon. As a result, there are only three images, all of which belong to the Archaic period, that we can safely associate with the wedding. The earliest was featured on the Amyklai Throne (550–525). Pausanias (3.18.12) writes that it depicted the gods bringing gifts. The event was apparently depicted with an iconography similar to that of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, seen on the vases by Sophilos and Kleitias, and featuring the procession of gods arriving on Mount Pelion to greet the new couple with their wedding gifts.⁵¹ Bathykles was pursuing the same analogy between the two weddings made by Pindar, but at an earlier date. The two other representations are on Athenian black figure vases. One is an amphora (ca. 490) in the Louvre, which features Kadmos and Harmonia on a chariot, accompanied by Apollo.⁵² The iconography is standard for weddings, except that a boar and a lion draw the chariot. The other representation is on an oinochoe (510–500) in Göttingen.⁵³ The iconography is the same, but there is a larger number of gods, and a boar, wolf, and lion are now drawing the chariot. There are no inscriptions, but the identification appears safe.

This review of the literary tradition and of the iconography of the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia should

⁴⁹ J. H. Oakley in *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 312–314, s.v. Dance (H. A. Shapiro et al.) with further literature.

⁵⁰ Literary tradition: Rocchi 1989; Gantz 1993, pp. 467–473. Iconography: *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 412–414, s.v. Harmonia (E. Paribeni); *LIMC* V, 1990, pp. 863–882, s.v. Kadmos I (M. A. Tiverios).

⁵¹ *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 265–267, s.v. Peleus (R. Vollkommer).

⁵² Musée du Louvre CA 1961: *ABL* 239.135 (Diosphos P.); *Paralipomena* 248.135; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 413, no. 9, pl. 240, s.v. Harmonia (E. Paribeni); *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 872, no. 45, pl. 562, s.v. Kadmos I (M. A. Tiverios).

⁵³ Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität R 23: *Paralipomena* 185.23⁷ (Guide-Line Class); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 413, no. 10, pl. 241, s.v. Harmonia (E. Paribeni); *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 872, no. 44, s.v. Kadmos I (M. A. Tiverios).



Figure 8.19. F(S)10. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.

indicate why it is difficult to maintain the idea that this myth was featured on the frieze of the Hall of Choral Dancers. The highlights of this myth were the gods' attendance at the wedding, the music, the song, and the presentation of gifts to the new couple. Accordingly, one would have expected to find our frieze dedicated, for the most part, to the depiction of the procession of gods bearing presents. But this is certainly not the case.

To this, one must add the material evidence concerning the frieze. There is in fact not a single fragment that could be associated with a central scene featuring the wedding. Moreover, we have a fair number of blocks and fragments that come from the building facade, and all they show are dancers.

It may be important, at this point, to review the history of the modern interpretations of our frieze. In 1860, Conze offered the first systematic interpretation of the subject, based on the two blocks reused in the Gattilusi towers, which were later moved to the Louvre by Champoiseau.⁵⁴ This discussion by Conze has proved crucial for all subsequent interpretations and deserves some attention. Conze not only read the relief on the two blocks as the representation of two groups of six female dancers but also noticed the presence, at the right end of F(S)10 (Fig. 8.19), of a tympanon player. He did not realize that one of the dancers on the other block F(S)11 (Fig. 8.20) was playing the *aulos*, and concluded that the women on the frieze were all dancing to the sound of the tympanon. Conze noticed the archaistic style of the reliefs, which he saw as an artistic parallel of the retention in the local ritual of words from the native language, as mentioned by Diodoros (5.47.3). This parallel allowed him to identify the subject of the frieze as a ritual dance: he interpreted the dancers as female initiates, dancing on the occasion of the Mysteries. To support this interpretation Conze pointed to the fact that the women were dancing to the sound of the tympanon, and he compared the regularity of their dance with the regularity of the dances performed on Samothrace alluded to by Statius in the *Achilleid* (see below). Conze's identification of the subject as a ritual dance, and his emphasis on the tympanon seen on F(S)10 have influenced most later literature on the frieze. Thus, the presence of the tympanon was seen by Champoiseau as grounds for the identification of the subject of the frieze as a dance performed by priestesses of Kybele, and by Chapouthier as grounds to link the frieze with the local cult of the Great Mother and its orgiastic dances.⁵⁵ Even after the discovery of the new block featuring a kithara player in 1949, Picard saw the presence of the tympanon as grounds for the identification of the subject of the frieze with an orgiastic dance performed by the *kourai* of Kybele.⁵⁶ These interpretations view the dance on the frieze as a cultic performance. In 1919, however, Kern proposed a mythological reading of the frieze, which he saw as the celebration of the Wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia.⁵⁷ Kern based this suggestion on the already discussed passage by Diodoros, according to which, on the occasion of the wedding celebration, Elektra presented Kadmos and Harmonia with the gift of

⁵⁴ Conze 1860, pp. 62–63. Cf. also Rubensohn 1892, pp. 132–133.

⁵⁵ Champoiseau 1880, p. 11; Chapouthier 1935, p. 157.

⁵⁶ Picard 1950, p. 159.

⁵⁷ *RE* X, 1919, coll. 1428–1429, s.v. Kabeiros und Kabeiroi (O. Kern).



Figure 8.20. F(S)11. Photo Craig A. Mauzy.

the sacred rites of the Great Mother of the Gods, together with cymbals, tympana, and the ecstatic revelers of her ritual. The presence of the tympanon in this list was the base for Kern's mythological reading of the frieze. As we saw, this reading found its fullest expression in *Samothrace* 5, although in that publication a sort of compromise was proposed between a ritual and a mythological interpretation. According to this interpretation, the choral dance celebrated the sacred marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia, but at the same time it could also have served as the mythological archetype for the choral dances performed on Samothrace during the annual summer festival.⁵⁸ Years earlier, Karl Lehmann had largely anticipated this solution.⁵⁹

It was important to outline the history of the modern interpretations of our frieze in order to unveil the paradox that for decades has characterized the literature on the Hall of Choral Dancers. An interpretation dating back to 1860 and based on two heavily weathered blocks has provided the framework for all subsequent readings of the frieze, including those produced at a time when new evidence coming out of the ground should have indicated the shortcomings of such an approach.

The first problem with Conze's interpretation, which should have been tackled since 1949, was his idea that the frieze featured only one dance and a single female chorus. Instead, it is evident that our frieze represents a plurality of choruses. As we saw, the representation of dancers appears to have been articulated in a series of small and large groups – eight and nine figures per group are documented – each consisting of a musician followed by dancers. Each group should be identified with a separate chorus. The number of chorus members, in visual sources, varies between two and 17: eight and nine are both well documented. The number seven also appears frequently in mythological choruses, and nine, of course, is the number of the Muses.⁶⁰ The musicians, given their placement at the head of each group and the fact that they are dancing like the rest of the chorus, should be identified as the *choregoi*, or chorus leaders, who are often represented in literary and visual sources as holding and playing musical instruments.⁶¹ On our frieze, then, multiple choruses were represented. Karl Lehmann immediately realized this fact after the discovery of the new evidence in 1949, and in *Samothrace* 5 it is often remarked that the frieze featured a series of choruses.⁶² However, the significance of this fact has not so far been fully realized.

⁵⁸ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 230–233.

⁵⁹ Lehmann 1951, p. 18.

⁶⁰ Cf. Calame 2001, pp. 21–25.

⁶¹ Cf. Calame 2001, pp. 43–73.

⁶² Lehmann 1951, p. 18; Lehmann 1952, pp. 27 n. 27; 30; *Samothrace* 5, p. 232.

The second problem with Conze's interpretation, which should have also been sorted out since 1949, was his idea that our dancers were dancing to the sound of only one instrument, the tympanon. On our frieze, instead, the choruses are seen dancing to the sound of three instruments: the kithara, the *aulos*, and the tympanon. The kithara is documented on F(S)1, F(S)36, and possibly F(S)33, the *aulos* on F(S)11 and F(S)35, and the tympanon on F(S)10 and possibly F(S)33. Maintaining the line of interpretation of Conze and Kern, one could note that on principle, all three instruments can be connected with orgiastic cults and dances. This is natural, particularly in the case of the tympanon, which was used in the worship of Dionysos, the Mother of the Gods, and Demeter, and perhaps, although based only on the visual sources, in the cult of Artemis and Isis.⁶³ Likewise, the *aulos*, which for authors like Aristotle was not "moral" (*Pol.* 1341a), could be associated as a wind instrument with the tympanon, as in the cult of the Mother of the Gods (*Hom. Hymn* 14.3).⁶⁴ Even the kithara, which has a particular connection with Apollo, and which after Nietzsche we tend to dissociate from Dionysos, could in fact be used in the ecstatic dances of this god.⁶⁵ However, the fact remains that the dance on our frieze, with the regular and solemn movement of its dancers, seems to have little to do with ecstatic dances. It moreover appears to have little to do with dances forming part of the rituals of initiation into the mysteries of Samothrace. The most explicit reference to dancing in initiation rituals comes from Strabo.⁶⁶ In discussing the Kouretes, Strabo notes their similarities to other divine groups, such as the Korybantes, the Kabeiroi, the Idaian Dactyls and the Telchines. All these groups, writes Strabo, are represented as inspired, seized by Bacchic frenzy, "and, in the guise of ministers, as inspiring terror at the celebration of the sacred rites by means of war dances, accompanied by uproar and noise and cymbals and drums (tympana) and arms, and also by flute and outcry." This comment is followed by the observation that rites of this kind were performed on Samothrace, Lemnos, and in several other places. The dance on our frieze appears very distant in its form and mood from such a terrifying dance around the initiate, a dance known from other literary and visual sources.⁶⁷

Conze was, in a sense, right in pointing to Statius as the best parallel, in the literary record, for the regular, well-ordered dance of the figures on our frieze. But, in fact, Statius is not explicit about the nature of the dance that he mentions. The passage of the *Achilleid* is set within the context of the story of Achilles on Skyros.⁶⁸ Odysseus and Diomedes have arrived on the island to enlist Achilles, who is hiding, dressed as a girl in the palace of king Lykomedes. The following morning, the girls come forward to display their Bacchic dances to the strangers and Achilles and Deidameia are in the front row. Statius' description of these dances deserves a full quotation: "Now they are on the move and the Ismenian boxwood gives signals to the choirs. Four times they clash Rhea's cymbals, four times beat the frenzied drums, four times wind their shifting movements back. Then together they raise their wands, together lower them, and multiply their steps. Sometimes they move in the manner of the Curetes or pious Samothracians, now they turn to face each other in an Amazonian comb, now ply the ring in which Diana summons the girls of Laconia and twists them clapping in her own Amyclae."⁶⁹ Like Strabo, Statius associates the Kouretes with the Samothracians and with orgiastic dancing. However, although he clearly has in mind the mysteries and the initiates and thus uses the word *pui* for the Samothracians, the description of the dance and its context indicates that the poet is not referring to an initiatory ritual, but to an ordinary choral execution. This was pointed out, long ago, by Nock.⁷⁰ It is possible that this passage alludes to choral performances by the initiates in the Samothracian mysteries: dancing was, after all, integral to mystery cults in classical antiquity.⁷¹ However, it would be difficult now to see the dancers on our frieze as initiates in the mysteries, as Conze did, since they all appear to be women. At best, our frieze could

⁶³ West 1992, pp. 124–126; *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 348–349, 351, nos. 37–43, s.v. Musical Instruments in Cult (Z. D. Papadopoulou); *ThesCRA* V, 2005, pp. 376–379, s.v. Schallgeräte (L. Palaiokrassa and A. Villing).

⁶⁴ West 1992, pp. 81–109; *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 347–350, nos. 1–12, s.v. Musical Instruments in Cult (Z. D. Papadopoulou).

⁶⁵ West 1992, pp. 49–70; *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 348–350, nos. 23–31, s.v. Musical Instruments in Cult (Z. D. Papadopoulou); on the association with Dionysos cf. e.g., Stibbe 1992.

⁶⁶ Strabo 10.3.7 = *Samothrace* 1, no. 214.

⁶⁷ *LMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 736–741, s.v. Kouretes, Korybantes (R. Lindner); *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 335–336, s.v. Dance (H. A. Shapiro et al.); Edmonds 2006, pp. 352–365. That *thronōsis* (Edmonds 2006 with further literature) took place in Samothracian mysteries is only a hypothesis, which goes back to Nock 1941.

⁶⁸ Statius, *Achilleid* 1.827–834 = *Samothrace* 1, no. 216.

⁶⁹ Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.

⁷⁰ Nock 1941, p. 579.

⁷¹ Burkert 1983, p. 288; Clinton 2004, pp. 108–109.

have served as a sort of discrete allusion to those dances.

However, the *poloi* of the young women on the frieze, besides emphasizing – as noted by Evelyn Harrison⁷² – the ceremonial character of their costume, also characterize their dances as choral executions performed in the context of the cult of a goddess. In the literature on the frieze, the headgear of the dancers has generally been identified as a *polos*, and rightly so. Our dancers wear low, slightly flaring *poloi*. *Poloi* could be very tall, but sometimes they could be just a few centimeters high. The low *polos* was already in use during the Archaic period but became particularly popular in the 5th century, and it is often seen in 4th century art.⁷³ The best comparison for the low, slightly flaring *polos* of our dancers is that worn by Hera on the stater of Knossos dated to ca. 350.⁷⁴ This and other parallels militate against the recent suggestion that our dancers' headgear should not be identified as a *polos* but as a kind of cap.⁷⁵ In Greek iconography, the *polos* is normally reserved for goddesses, especially Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Persephone, Hera, and Kybele. However, mortal women can also wear the *polos*, but almost exclusively in scenes of cult.⁷⁶ Thus, dancers wearing *poloi* are featured on several Corinthian "Frauenfest" vases representing rows of dancing women, either by themselves, or associated with other female or male figures, including padded dancers. The scenes on these Corinthian vases, which are rather generic, have usually been connected with the cult of Artemis.⁷⁷

An analogous interpretation can be applied to our frieze. However we reconstruct the list of the Great Gods of Samothrace, it is clear that a goddess or a pair of them – Demeter and Persephone, or Kybele – played a major role. These goddesses all have a significant connection with the *polos*, choral performances by young women, and tympana.⁷⁸ Although there is no explicit reference to choral performances by young women on the occasion of the annual festival, the evidence suggests that such performances took place.⁷⁹ This was, in fact, the line of interpretation pursued in *Samothrace* 5. But in that publication, the fact that the frieze showed a plurality of choruses was not emphasized, partly because of its relatively modest reconstructed length, and partly because of its "chain composition." The repetitive rhythm of our frieze and the replication of the groups of dancers all around the building, has often been compared to the repetition of bukrania, garlands, paterae and rosettes on later friezes of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Our frieze has consequently been attributed, since Karl Lehmann, to a transitional phase in the development of architectural relief, a phase in which the tradition of narrative representation was giving way to a new trend towards the decorative repetition of significant motifs.⁸⁰ The validity of this proposition may be questioned, given that narrative representation remained important on friezes of the Hellenistic period, and given that a fair amount of repetition was already at play on friezes of the Archaic period, to which our frieze could possibly allude. We must beware, however, in emphasizing the purely ornamental character of our frieze, not to miss its main point: that there was not just one chorus and one choral performance in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, but many.

This message is easy to understand in light of the role of choral performances in religious festivals. As

⁷² *Agora* XI, p. 54.

⁷³ Cf. Müller 1915, pp. 35–45.

⁷⁴ *LIMC* IV, 1988 p. 681, no. 194, pl. 415, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

⁷⁵ Karadima-Matsa and Clinton 2002, p. 90. The authors publish a grave stele from Samothrace in which a woman, Korrane, is called *hiera*. Slaves manumitted through consecration to a divinity became "sacred persons" and they were frequently called *hieroi/ai* (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, p. 86): Korrane was most likely a former slave consecrated to some divinity. Karadima-Matsa and Clinton propose a parallel with the Sacred Women at Andania and suggest the possibility that Korrane belonged to a corps of women dancers who would have performed a choral dance during the Mysteries, at every initiation (cf. also D. Matsas in *Geschenke der Musen* 2003, p. 268 no. 138). This dance would be the one represented on the frieze. However, the dance on the frieze does not seem to have an initiatory character. Moreover, the dancers on the frieze wear *poloi*, definitely not the *piloi* worn by the Sacred Women at Andania (Sokolowski 1969, no. 65, line 13).

⁷⁶ *Neue Pauly* 10, 2001, pp. 493–494, s.v. *Polos* (R. Hirschmann), with further literature.

⁷⁷ *ThesCRA* II, 2004, p. 327, no. 241, s.v. *Dance* (H. A. Shapiro et al.) with further literature.

⁷⁸ *Polos*: Müller 1915; *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 844–892, s.v. *Demeter* (L. Beschi); *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 744–766, s.v. *Kybele* (E. Simon). Choruses of young women: Calame 2001, pp. 138–140. Tympana: see above note 64.

⁷⁹ On the annual summer festival, see Chapouthier, Salač, and Salviat 1956, pp. 142–145; Cole 1984, p. 48; Pounder and Dimitrova 2003, p. 35. *IG* XII⁸ 178 ll. 5–7 mentions, among the initiated, a *kitharistria* named Menylla. The fact that Dymas from Iasos, honored by the people of Samothrace in the early 2nd century for a drama on Dardanos (see above, note 48), was a *chorēgos* in his home city does not seem to be evidence for the performance of *choroi* in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods (as was recently suggested by Kowalzig 2005, p. 65).

⁸⁰ Lehmann 1951, p. 18; Ridgway 1966, p. 203; cf. also Ridgway 1990–2002, I, p. 27, and Ridgway 1999, p. 79.



Figure 8.21. Attic red-figure *lebes gamikos* attributed to the Syriskos Painter. Mykonos, Museum 970. After Dugas 1952, pl. 57.

Walter Burkert puts it, “to celebrate a festival is to set up choruses.”⁸¹ Not only is the choral performance an essential component of the spectacle of a religious festival but part of that spectacle is also the multiplicity of choral performances, which usually finds its expression in chorus competitions. This is because, as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* declares, these contests not only give pleasure to the men and women attending the festival, they also delight the gods. The festivals of Apollo on Delos offer the best example of this.⁸² The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (146–164) describes the festival of the god in which the Ionians gather with their children and wives. It includes boxing, dancing, and singing competitions, and its high point is the singing of the hymn by the Deliades, a sacred female choral group, celebrating with its songs Apollo, Leto, Artemis, and the men and women of the past. Thucydides (3.104.2–6) confirms this picture, and adds that although after Homer’s time the festival was less magnificent, the islanders and the Athenians continued to send choruses of dancers to the festival with sacrifices. The third reference to this festival that includes a mention of the choruses is offered by Kallimachos (*Hymn* 4. 278–282). Each year, the poet says, all the cities of Greece send choruses to Delos (*pāsai de chorous anagousi polēes*) along with the tributes and the first fruit due to Apollo. Other ancient authors, together with epigraphic and visual sources, confirm the importance of choral dancing on Delos. Further confirmation is provided by the fact that choruses were regularly sent by cities along with sacred envoys and sacrifices as a way of honoring the god and paying tribute to its sanctuary. At the same time, local choruses performed during the arrival of these various delegations. One of these choral dances, possibly the one by the Deliades, seems to be represented on a *lebes gamikos* from Delos that features a group of dancing girls accompanied by a male lyre-player, possibly Apollo himself (Fig. 8.21).⁸³ On Delos choral dances were an essential component of ritual performances and of the spectacle offered to worshippers and *theōroi*, but they were also a testimony to the international reputation of the cult place and its festival.

The case of Delos, and the fact that *theōriai* to sanctuaries were often accompanied by song and dance performances, may illuminate not only the nature, but also the significance of the representation on our frieze (Fig. 8C).⁸⁴ By showing a plurality of *choroi*, the frieze could simultaneously allude to the splendor of the annual summer festival and reflect the ambition of the sanctuary, in the second half of the 4th century, to achieve international status. In *Samothrace* 5, Phyllis Lehmann suggested that our building was donated by Philip II, an attribution that has been followed by all subsequent literature.⁸⁵ This is certainly a possibility, in consideration of the archaeological dating of the building to the third quarter of the 4th century.⁸⁶ Be that as it may, thanks to the literary and epigraphical sources, and to the later dedications in the sanctuary, the big picture is clear. There is general agreement that the Macedonian royal family was the driving force behind the advent of monumental architecture at this sanctuary, and that the rationale for that involvement was the effort by Philip II to raise the status of “his” sanctuary in northern Greece to a level comparable to that of

⁸¹ Burkert 1985, p. 102.

⁸² *ThesCRA* II, 2004, pp. 319–320, s.v. Dance (H. A. Shapiro et al.) with further literature.

⁸³ *ARI*² 261.19 (Syriskos P); *Addenda*² 204; *ThesCRA* II, 2004, p. 320, no. 164, s.v. Dance (H. A. Shapiro et al.).

⁸⁴ On the link *theōria* – *choroi*, see Chaniotis 1988 and Rutherford 2007.

⁸⁵ *Samothrace* 5, pp. 147, 266, 273, 289.

⁸⁶ This is provided by pottery from the undisturbed fill in the west aisle and the porch: see M. B. Moore in *Samothrace* 5, pp. 317; 383–394. Further ceramic finds in the construction fill have confirmed this chronology (McCredie 1994–95, p. 53), dissipating the doubts expressed by some (e.g., Fleischer 1984). This evidence is not taken into account by, among others, Holtzmann (*ÉtThas* XV, p. 95) and Rolley (1994–99, II, pp. 272–274), who date the monument too low, to ca. 300.

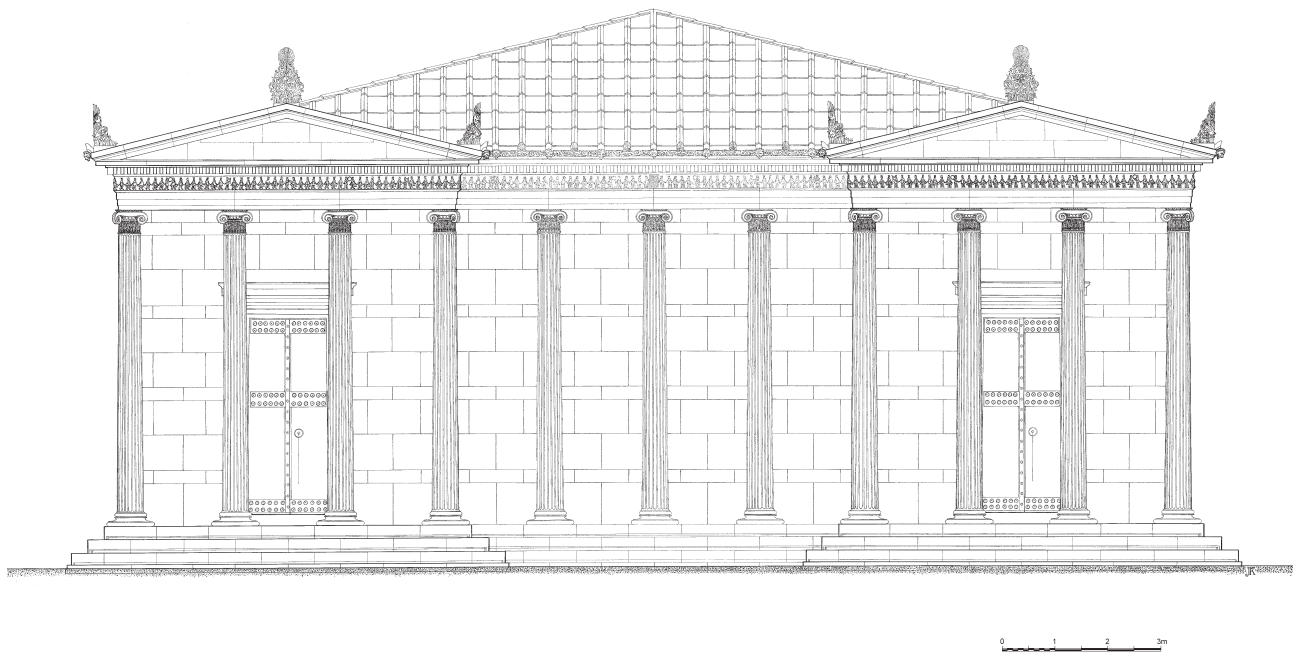


Figure 8C. Restored north elevation of the Hall of Choral Dancers. Drawing John Kurtich.

international sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia.⁸⁷ It has also been suggested that the king may have been responsible for the institution of the annual summer festival or for its substantial renovation.⁸⁸ If this were the framework, then the Hall of Choral Dancers, a large, ceremonial building lying at the heart of the sanctuary, would be the first concrete manifestation of the ambition of the patrons of the sanctuary to raise its status to international level. In addition, the long frieze featuring choral dances should be seen as an allusion to the spectacle of the annual summer festival, to *theōriai*, and to the wide recognition of the prestige of the Sanctuary since early times – a fact pointed out centuries later by Diodoros – as suggested by the archaistic style of the sculpture. In the third quarter of the 4th century, this recognition at the international level was still an ambition. However, as the *theōroi* inscriptions indicate, by the middle of the 3rd century the importance of Samothrace had been acknowledged throughout the Aegean and sacred delegations came from the west coast of Asia Minor and from several islands to visit the sanctuary, admire its spectacular buildings, and, it seems, its choral dances.⁸⁹

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⁸⁷ Frazer 1982; McCredie 1988, pp. 122–123; Burkert 1993, p. 185; Wescoat 2003.

⁸⁸ Cole 1984, p. 48.

⁸⁹ On *theōroi* on Samothrace, see Cole 1984, pp. 48–56; Pounder and Dimitrova 2003, pp. 35–36; Dimitrova 2008, pp. 9–74, 251–255.

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9. A New Ceiling for the Hieron in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace

Amy A. Sowder

Decorated ceilings seem to have been a particularly favored form of architectural sculpture in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. Lavish marble coffered ceilings ornamented at least three strategically placed buildings throughout the Sanctuary, adding considerable weight and expense to the structures.¹ The coffers and the decorative reliefs projecting from their recessed panels contributed yet another layer of opulence to the stunning Sanctuary itself, nestled between the mountains and the sea and filled with large and impressive buildings designed to accommodate the sacred rites of the Mysteries.

The presence of three stone ceilings in one sanctuary is significant. In this aspect, Samothrace is rivaled only by the Athenian Akropolis, where the Propylaia, Parthenon, and all three porches of the Erechtheion had gleaming ceilings of Pentelic marble ornamented with either painted geometric patterns or bronze appliqué.² Additional refinements in the construction, decoration, and arrangement of the coffers on Samothrace testify further to the importance placed on ceilings within the overall sculptural program of the Sanctuary. The coffer blocks themselves are constructed in the usual Greek manner, with rows or panels cut from a piece of stone long enough to span the distance between supporting elements, such as the upper surface of the epistyle, frieze, wall molding, or ceiling beam. Each individual coffer consists of one or more superimposed, recessed frames. The simplest ones have only a single shallow rise, whereas the more elaborate blocks have two or even three successive vertical faces separated by carved moldings. The lids are worked independently of the coffers themselves, a refinement that allows decorative elements to be rendered in relief and placed above the uppermost recesses of the coffers.³ At least some of the lids on each of the three Samothracian ceilings bear ambitiously sculpted ornaments. Furthermore, the arrangements of the blocks are complex, incorporating multiple sizes and shapes of coffers into each ceiling; this feature is particularly remarkable because of the added planning required to accommodate the various blocks within a single ceiling grid.

The smallest of the three Samothracian structures with sculpted coffer lids is the Ionic Porch (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, behind no. 24; Figs 9.1–9.3), which was appended, most likely in the early 2nd century B.C., to the back of the Doric building dedicated by the Macedonian kings Philip III and Alexander IV, who were, respectively, the half-brother and posthumous son of Alexander the Great.⁴ The marble ceiling was perhaps the finest feature of this small structure, incorporating at least two different sizes of coffer blocks and lids with a variety of naturalistic floral motifs sculpted in relief.⁵ The largest building in the Sanctuary, the Hall of Choral Dancers, built ca. 340 B.C., incorporated at least three different shapes of coffers in the winged prostōon forming its facade (here, pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 17; Figs 9.4–9.5).⁶ At least some of the lids were

¹ J.C. Carter (1983, p. 58) notes that “the stone ceiling... is structurally functionless; it has the advantage of being more permanent than wood... [but is]... a great deal heavier and more costly...”

² Tancke 1989, p. 25; *Apollo Bassitas* III, p. 353; Orlandos 1978, pp. 471–511; Paton and Stevens 1927, pp. 30, 89, 91, 116, 364, 409.

³ In general, when coffer blocks and lids are made in one piece, they are decorated with painted patterns or enhanced with metal appliqué. In cases where they are formed separately, the thin, horizontal slabs covering the uppermost recesses of the coffers may be articulated with floral or figural motifs carved in relief.

⁴ The date of the Ionic Porch is uncertain. As B. D. Wescoat (*Samothrace* 9, forthcoming) notes, some architectural features fit comfortably in the late 4th to early 3rd century, while the best parallels for the ceiling come from the early 2nd century.

⁵ McCredie 1968, pp. 229–230, pl. 70c; Wescoat and Sowder in *Samothrace* 9, forthcoming. While these flowers are not readily identifiable as a specific species of known flower, they are derived from nature and are distinct from generic rosettes.

⁶ The porch of the Hall of Choral Dancers was originally published as the Propylon to the Temenos: *Samothrace* 5, pp. 75–76,

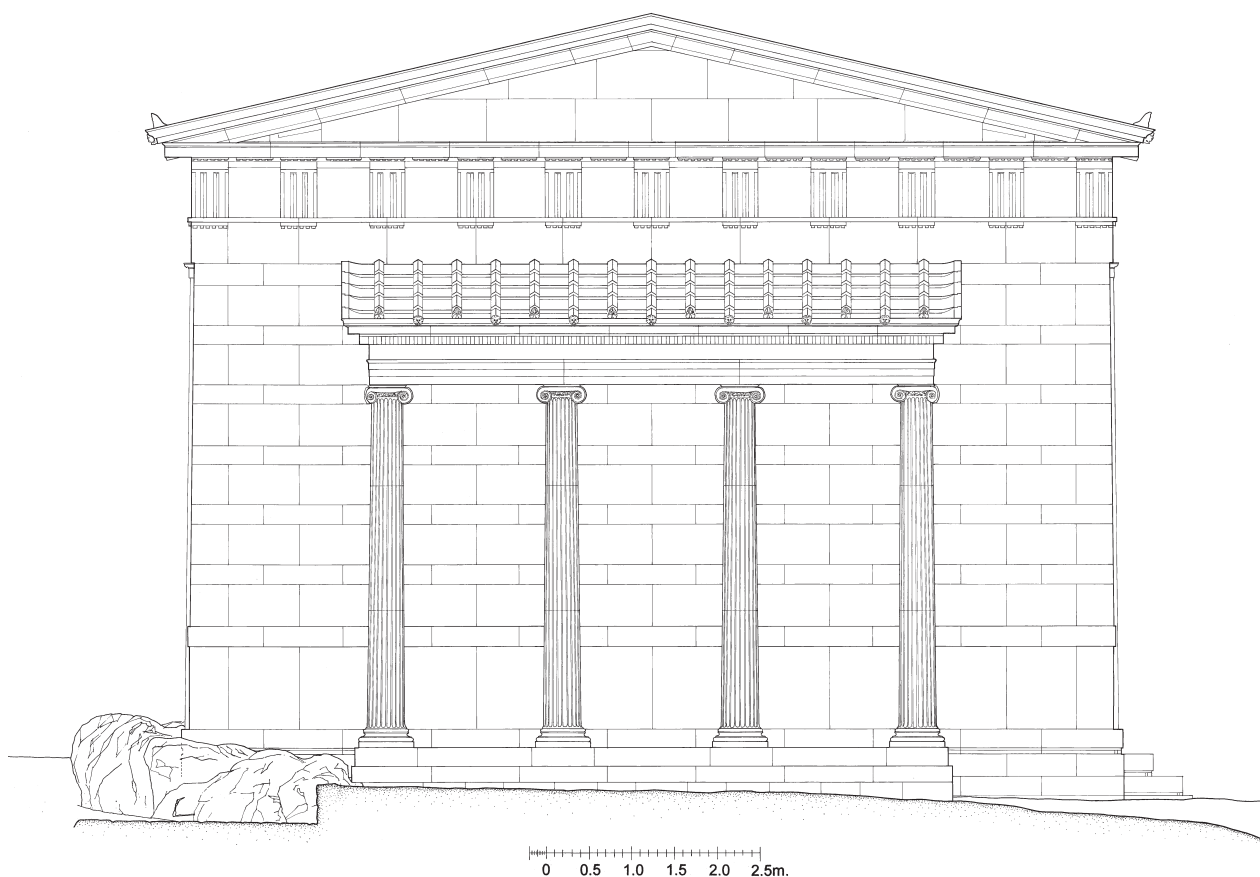


Figure 9.1. Ionic Porch, restored elevation. After *Samothrace* 9, forthcoming. Drawing Tetsuo Takemoto and Yong K. Kim.

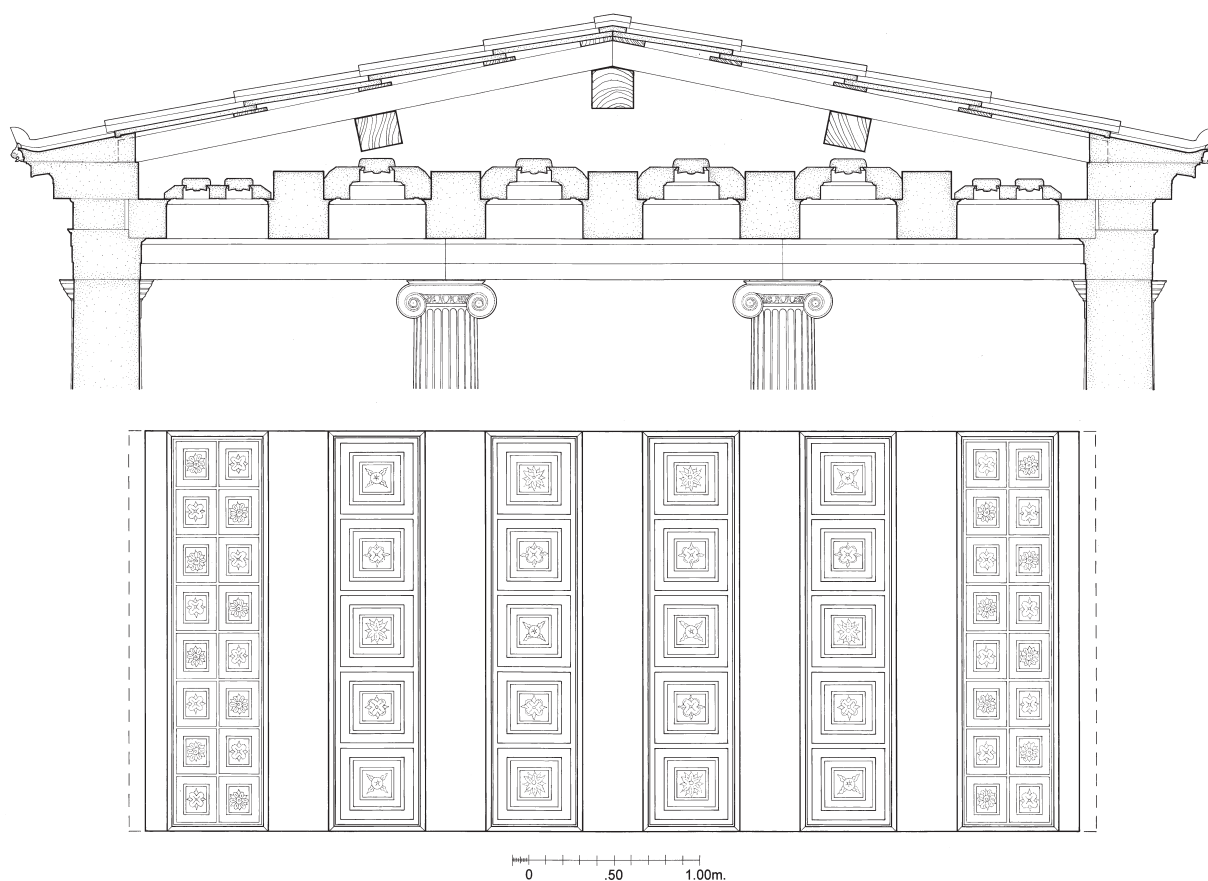


Figure 9.2. Ionic Porch, reflected ceiling plan, and cross-section. After *Samothrace* 9, forthcoming. Drawing Yong K. Kim and Hugh H. W. Green.

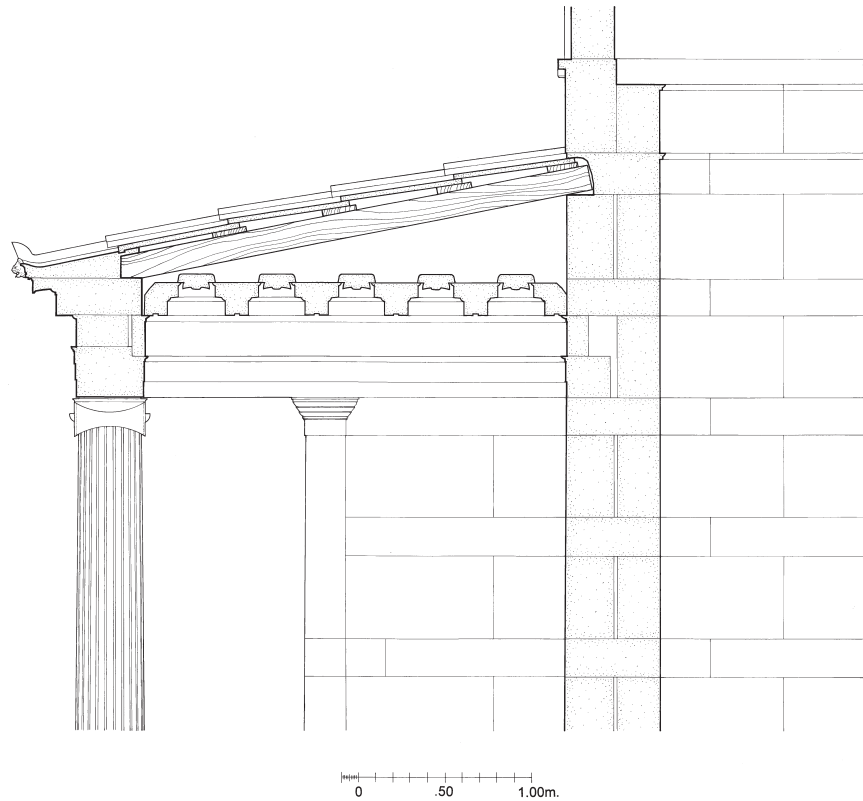


Figure 9.3. Ionic Porch, cross-section. After *Samothrace* 9, forthcoming. Drawing Yong K. Kim.

adorned with male and female heads carved in relief in frontal, profile, and three-quarter views, which P. W. Lehmann identifies as “divinities, legendary figures, and heroic initiates.”⁷ E. Harrison has also suggested that these coffers held portraits of the Macedonian royal family, although she assigns specific personalities, Philip III Arrhidaios and his grandmother, Eurydike, to only two of the reliefs.⁸

The final Samothracian structure with sculpted coffers was the Hieron, a hexastyle Doric building with a hidden apse in the back. It was constructed in two phases between the late 4th and mid-2nd century B.C. and was almost totally obscured by the massive Hall of Choral Dancers to its north (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 15; Fig. 9.6). It had the most extravagant ceiling of all, with at least five different sizes and shapes of elaborately profiled marble coffers in both its porch and pronaos (Figs 9.7–9.8). In addition to these two stone ceilings, it also had wooden coffers ornamented with bronze appliques throughout the expansive cella.⁹ The largest of the coffers in the pronaos were made on a truly monumental scale, each measuring more than 1.5 m², and were topped with panels showing magnificent centaurs sculpted in relief. Today, these reliefs are among the most remarkable sculpted Greek coffer lids to survive; they also seem to have been renowned in antiquity, judging from the amazement expressed by Kallistratos, a Greek writer from the 3rd or 4th century A.D. In his *Descriptiones*, he recounts his own reaction to the sculptures, writing

“On entering a great and awesome Hieron, which had within itself the most beautiful imagery, I behold, set in the entrance hall of the shrine, a centaur like – in the Homeric image—‘not unto man, but unto a wooden crag’... Such as the body and you would also have seen the spirit of life breathing in the handiwork – the body rendered wild, the savagery showing itself in the face, the stone representing most beautifully the appearance of hair, every detail striving for the true form.”¹⁰

145–172, pls XXXIX, XL, XLVI, XLVIIa,b.

⁷ *Samothrace* 5, p. 276.

⁸ Harrison 2001, pp. 285–291.

⁹ *Samothrace* 3,1 pp. 65, 69, 73, 85, 86, 110–117, 142–144, 200, 213, 216, 230–234; 3,2, pp. 20, 83, 162–170, 245–249, pls LXXVI–LXXV, CII–CVI.

¹⁰ Kallistratos *Descriptiones* 12; trans. *Samothrace* 1, p. 55, no. 128. “Εἰς ἱερὸν εἰσιὼν σεμνὸν τι καὶ μέγα, ὃ τὴν καλλίστην

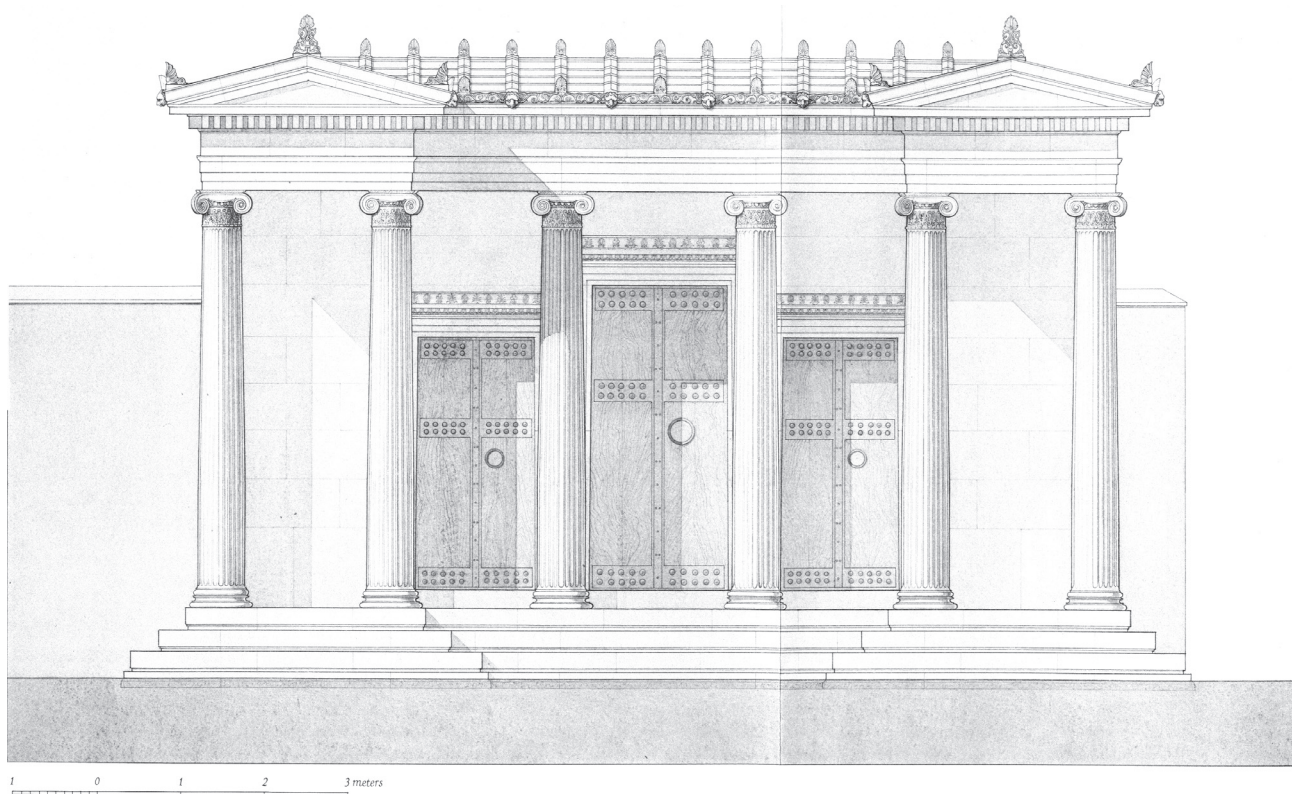


Figure 9.4. Restored elevation of the so-called Temenos, now renamed the Hall of Choral Dancers. After *Samothrace* 5, pl. XLVIII.

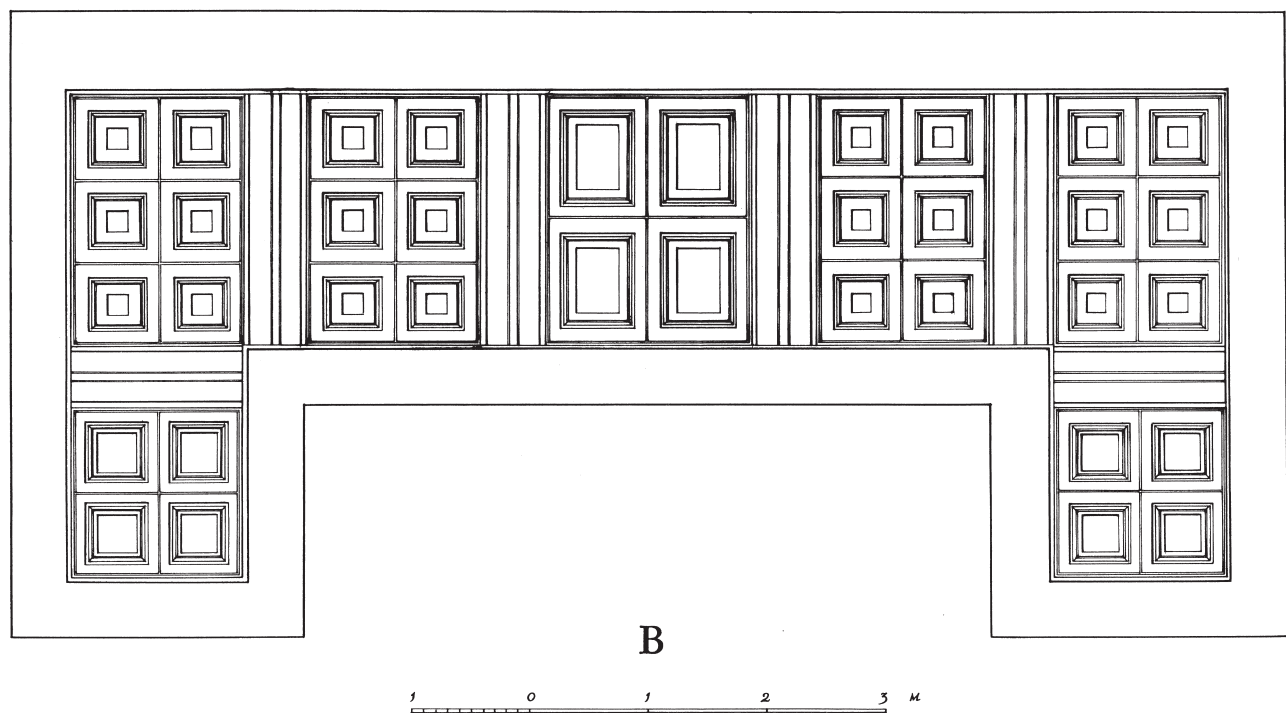


Figure 9.5. Restored ceiling plan of the so-called Temenos, now renamed the Hall of Choral Dancers. After *Samothrace* 5, pl. XLVII. B.

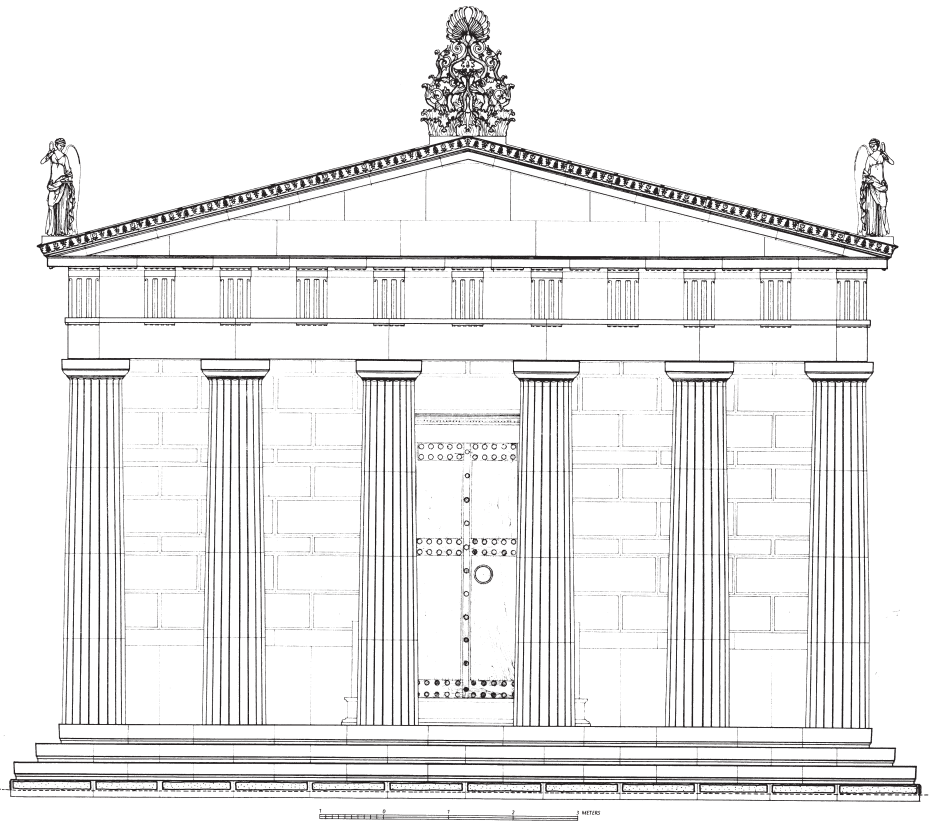


Figure 9.6. Hieron. Restored elevation of facade. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. CVIII.

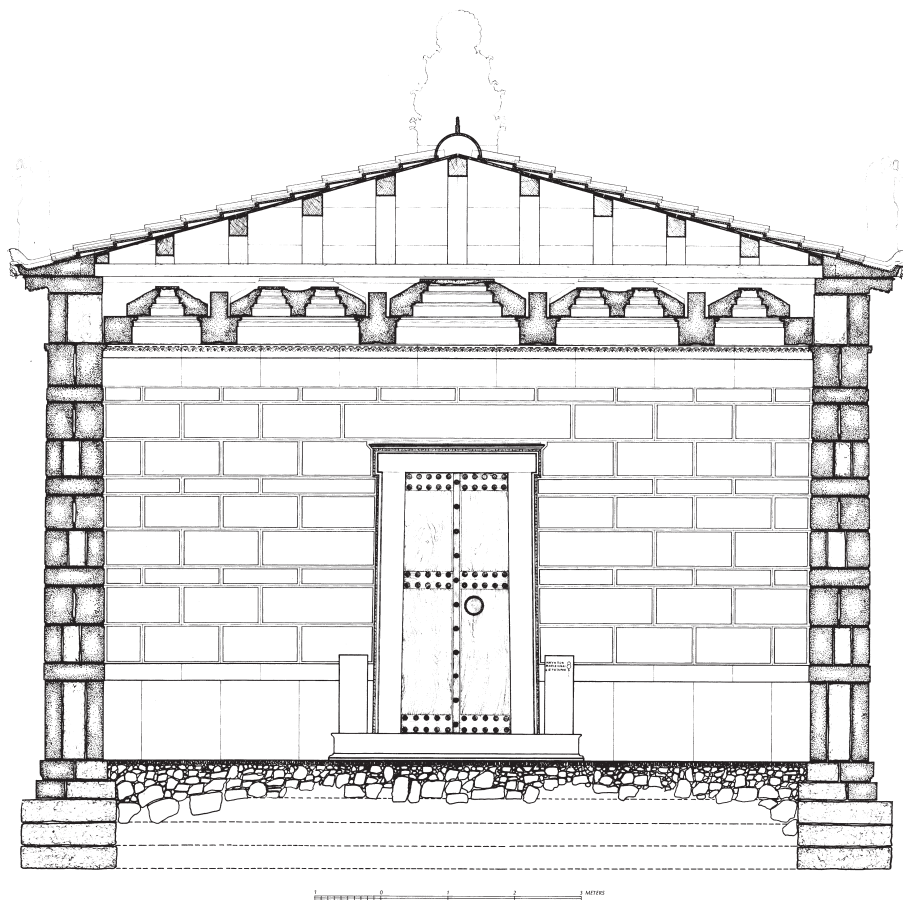


Figure 9.7. Hieron, Restored cross-section through pronaos. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. CIII.

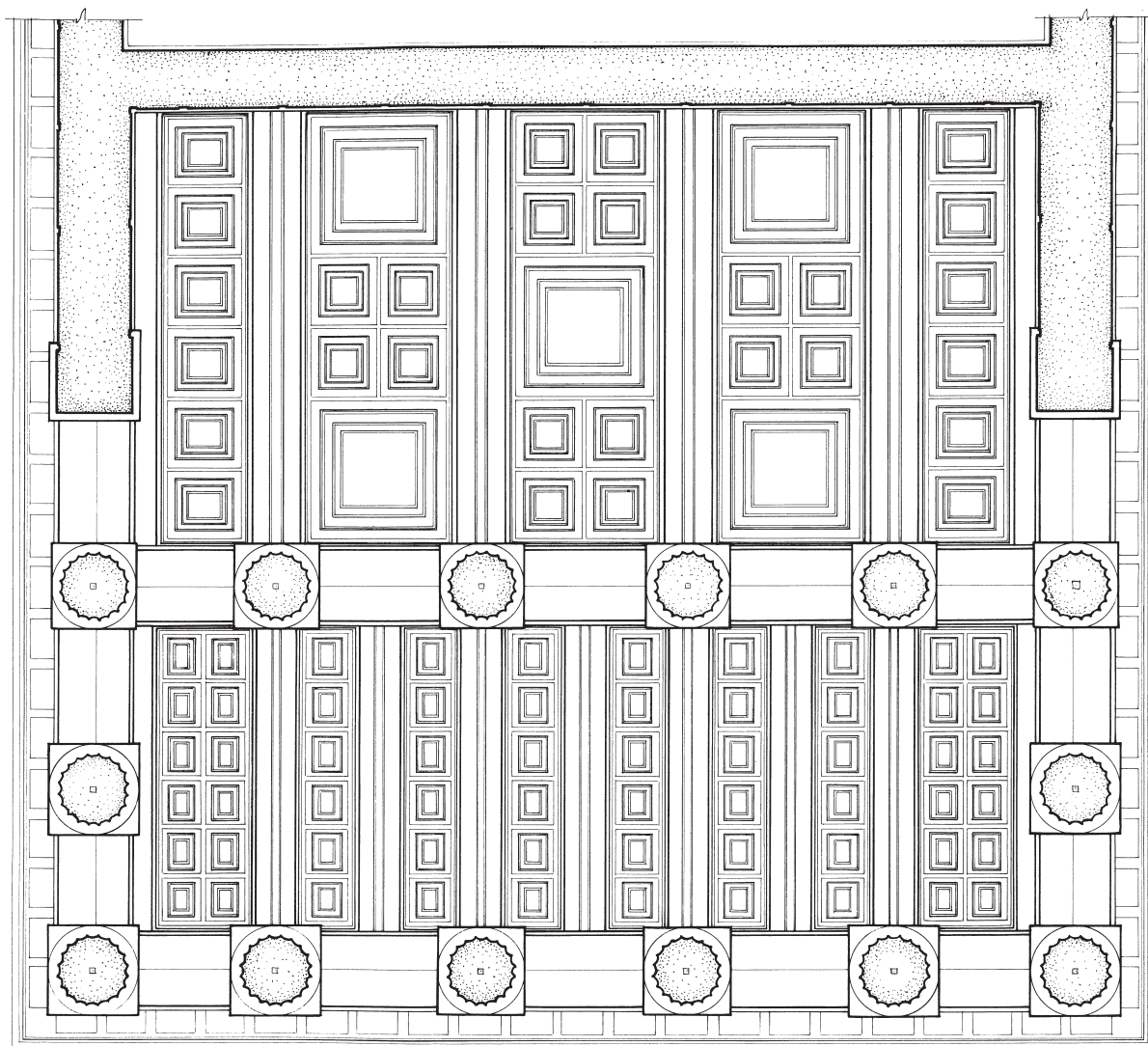


Figure 9.8. Hieron, reflected ceiling plan for pronaos and porch. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXXV.

The coffers from both the Hall of Choral Dancers and the Hieron were discovered early in the investigations of the Sanctuary and were noted in the first Austrian publications.¹¹ The ceiling of the Ionic Porch was not known until the excavation of the Eastern Hill, carried out between 1964 and 1967, under the direction of J. R. McCredie.¹² New fragments from all three ceilings continue to be discovered.

In the summer of 2007, in the course of examining the coffer fragments from the Hall of Choral Dancers, a previously unrecognized block belonging to the ceiling of the porch of the Hieron was identified (coffer T370; Figs 9.9, 9.10). Found in the 1990s during excavations in the area of the Hall of Choral Dancers immediately to the north of the Hieron, it was sent to the *kala marmara* block field but not catalogued. The two-stepped block clearly belongs to the Hieron because of the characteristic intricate moldings between its two vertical faces. When its dimensions were compared to those of the previously known coffers from the

εἰκασίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸ μεθίστη, ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις τοῦ νεῷ ἰδρυμένον θεῶμαι κένταυρον, οὐκ ἀνδρί, κατὰ τὴν Ὀμήρειον εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ ῥίῳ παραπλήσιον ὕληντι... τοιοῦτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ σώματος εἶδες ἂν καὶ θυμὸν ἐπιπνέοντα τῷ τεχνήματι καὶ ἡγριωμένον τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ θηριώδες ἐπανθοῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς τριχὸς κάλλιστα ὑποκρινομένην τὴν πέτρην καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῆ τύπον σπεύδοντα.”

¹¹ The Austrians did not attempt to reconstruct either ceiling, but ceiling beams, coffer blocks, and lids from the Hieron and the Hall of Choral Dancers are discussed and illustrated in Conze, Hauser, and Niemann 1875, pp. 67–68, fig. 22, pls XXVII.III, XXVIII, XXIV.II, LXX.III–IV; Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf 1880, p. 14, pls LI, LII.

¹² McCredie 1968, pp. 229–230, pl. 70c.

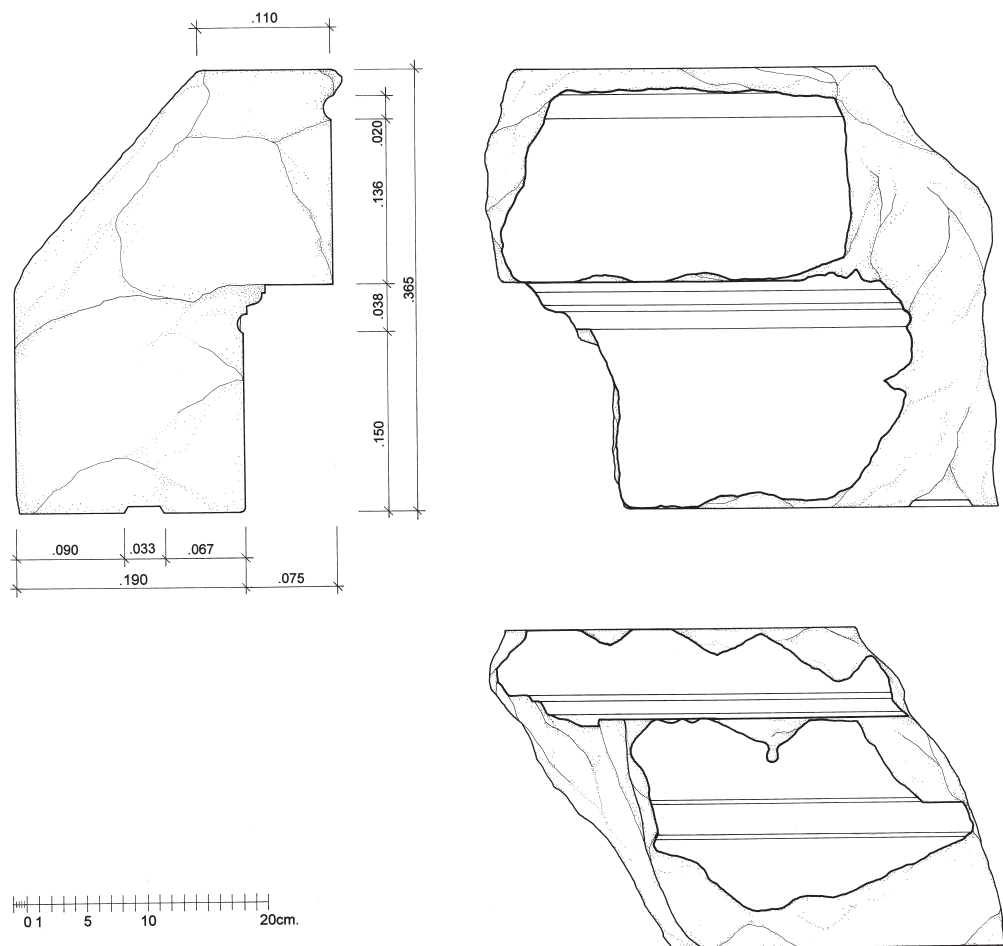


Figure 9.9. Hieron. New coffer T370. Drawings Yong K. Kim.

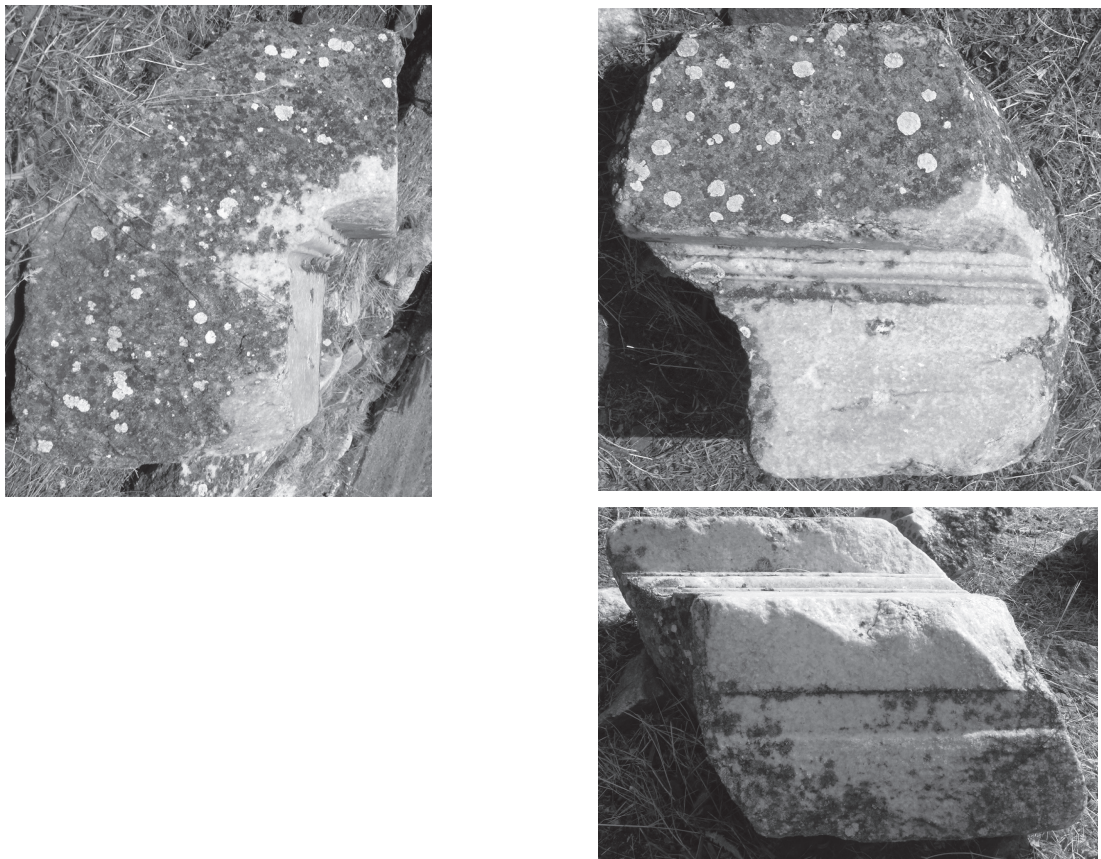


Figure 9.10. Hieron. New coffer T370. Photos A. Sowder.

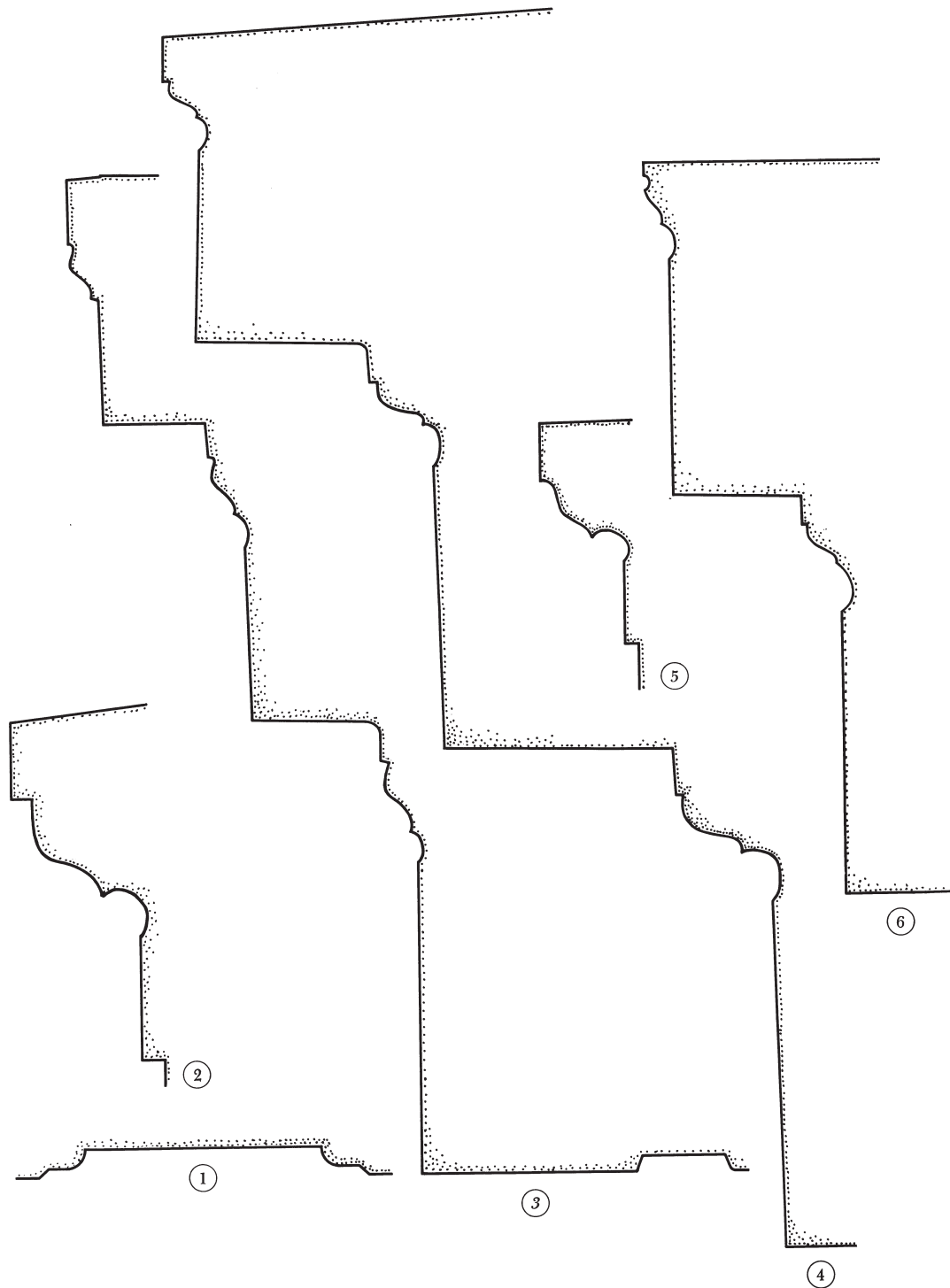


Figure 9.11. Hieron. Profiles of the published coffers and beams from the pronaos and porch. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. CI.

Hieron, however, it became apparent that the new block was different. Its discovery calls for a re-examination of the coffering systems in both the porch and the pronaos of the Hieron.

The first published reconstruction of the Hieron ceiling plan appeared in 1969 (Fig. 9.8).¹³ At that time, P.W. Lehmann identified two different types of coffer blocks belonging to the building: double-tiered frames with two vertical faces divided by an intermediate four-part molding and triple-tiered blocks with three vertical faces separated by similarly profiled moldings (Fig. 9.11). She assigned the smaller coffers with two vertical faces to the porch and the taller ones with three steps to the pronaos, which was separated from the porch by

¹³ *Samothrace* 3,1, pp. 110–117, figs 71–73, pls LXXVI–LXXXV, CI, CIII, CV.

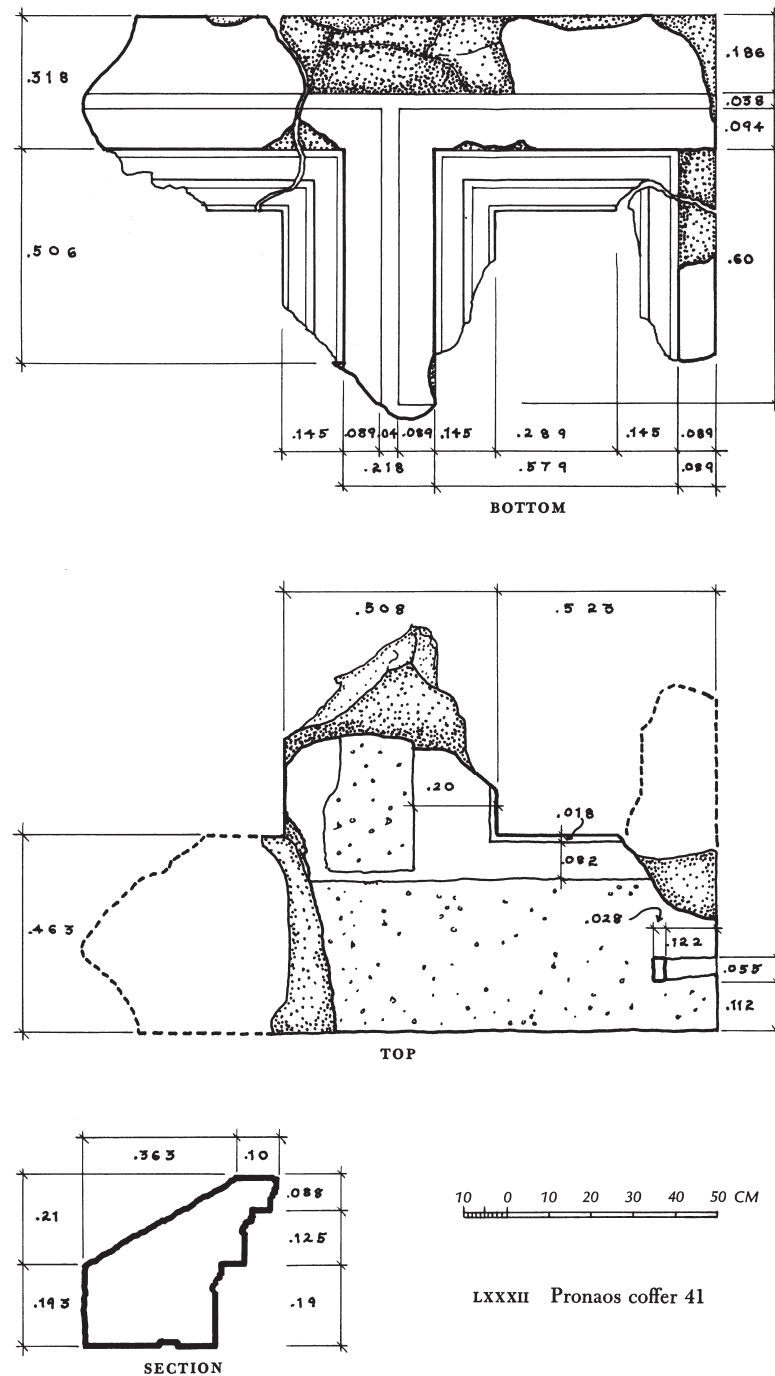


Figure 9.12. Hieron. Pronaos coffer 40. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXXI.

an inner colonnade. Both of these coffering systems belong to the Hellenistic remodeling of the building in the early 2nd century B.C; the details of the original ceiling plan of the 4th-century Hieron are unclear.¹⁴

Most of the surviving coffer fragments from the Hieron belong to the ceiling of the pronaos. Three different sizes and shapes of three-stepped blocks survive: large squares, small squares, and small rectangles (Fig. 9.11.1–4; Figs 9.12, 9.13). The large square blocks, of which there were five, received the substantial lids with reveling centaurs (Fig. 9.14).¹⁵ It is unclear whether the smaller square or oblong frames also had decorated

¹⁴ *Samothrace* 3,1, p. 85.

¹⁵ *Samothrace* 3,1, pp. 114–115, 237–245, figs 187–201. In addition, there is a large fragment of a centaur cut from its marble background in Thasos (Thasos Archaeological Museum 3255, *ÉtThas* XV, pp. 89–94), which Z. Bonias (1986, pp. 35–44) attributed to a building in the Herakleion on Thasos. More likely, however, it should be associated with the other fragments of centaurs known to belong to the Hieron on Samothrace. A. Mantis, who first recognized the provenance of the centaur from Samothrace (1998,

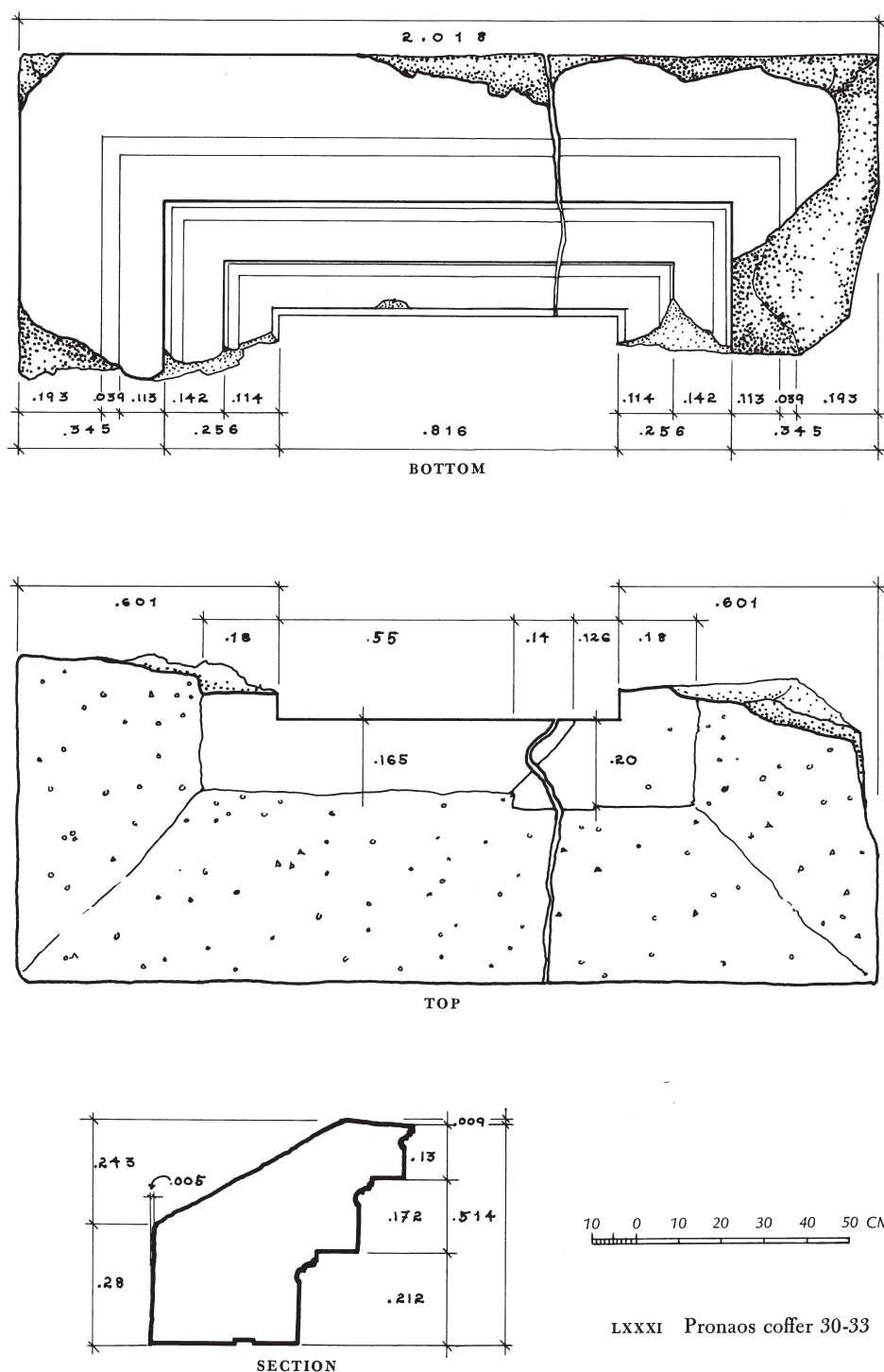


Figure 9.13. Hieron. Pronaos coffer 30–33. After *Samothrace* III, pl. LXXXII.

lids. Lehmann proposed that thin marble panels with bunches of grapes carved in relief (Fig. 9.15), one of which survives, might have covered at least some of the smaller coffers, but it also is possible that they were painted or left plain.¹⁶ Fragments of four large ceiling beams with special modifications to help support the weight of the coffers over the unusually deep pronaos also were found (Fig. 9.16).¹⁷ The soffits of the ceiling

pp. 209–225), restores the centaurs to the largest square blocks, after Lehmann, and reconstructs the smaller squares with heads, inspired by a coffer with a head of Aphrodite in the Kavala Museum.

¹⁶ *Samothrace* 3,1, pp. 244–245, fig. 202.

¹⁷ Longer beams (pronaos): blocks 40, 56, 60, 69. *Samothrace* 3, pls LXXVII–LXXX.

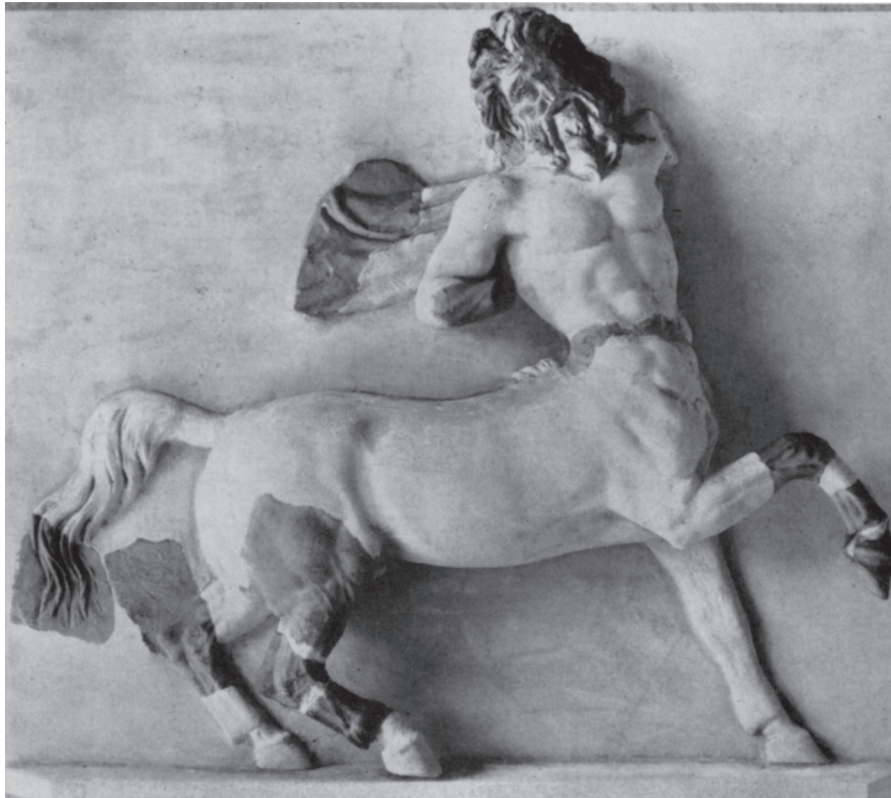


Figure 9.14. Hieron. Centaur coffer lid. Vienna C(V)1. After *Samothrace* 3, fig. 187.

beams have distinctive recessed panels that would have helped to break the visual monotony of the exceptionally long blocks when seen from below.

At the time of the 1969 reconstruction, only one fragmentary row of coffers belonging to the porch was known (block 442; Fig. 9.11.6; Fig. 9.17). It preserves one full rectangular frame with two vertical steps and fragments of the adjacent blocks to either side. Part of a smaller ceiling beam (28A; Figs 9.11.5, 9.18), which was found near coffer block 442 at the northwest corner of the porch, also belongs.¹⁸ It has the same carved recess on the soffit as the beams from the pronaos. Unfortunately, no lids have been identified so far that would have been appropriately sized to cover the double-tiered coffers from the porch.

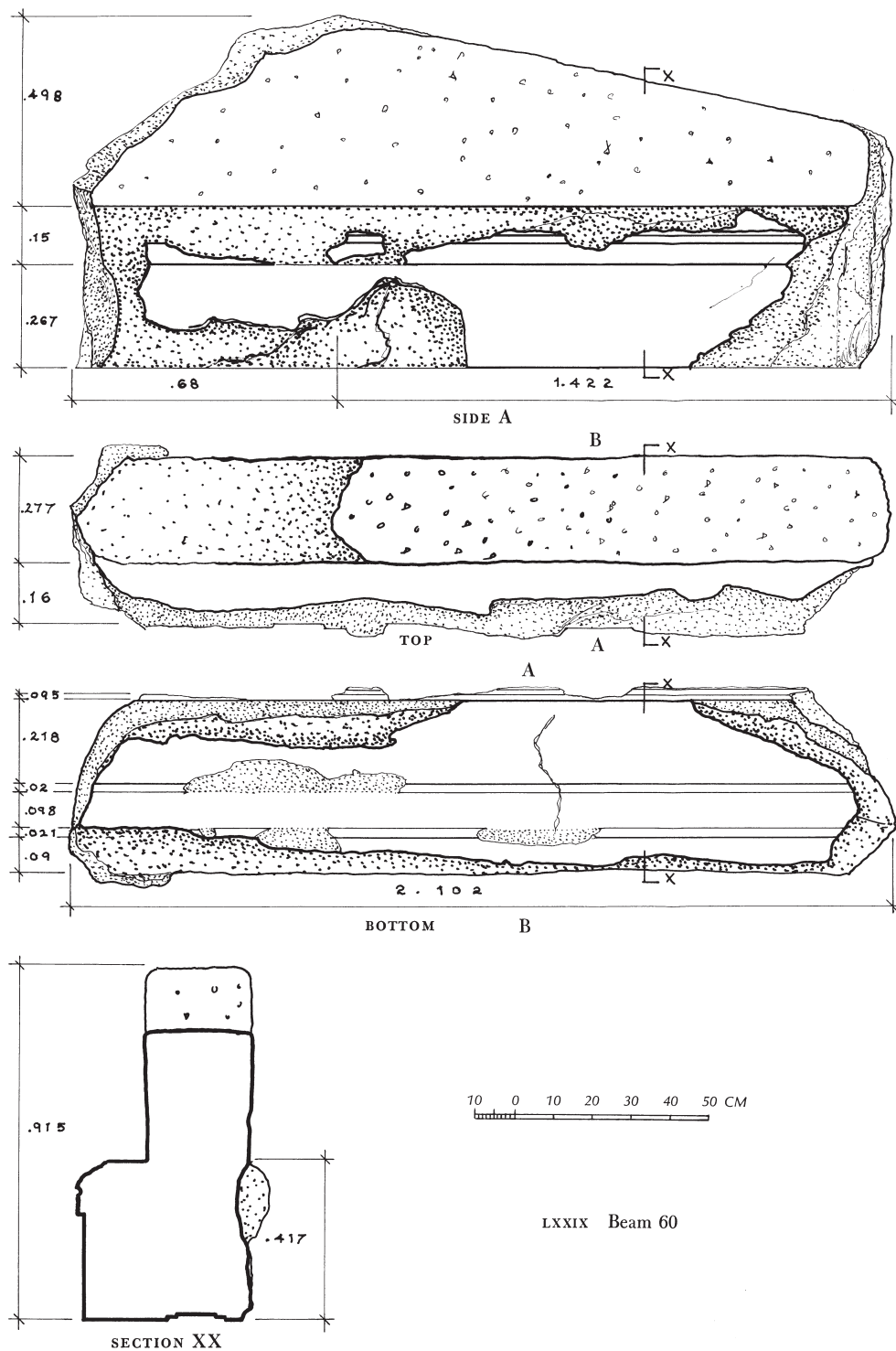
With so many surviving fragments, Lehmann had little trouble restoring the scheme of the pronaos ceiling (Fig. 9.8).¹⁹ She inserted beams aligned neatly with the four central columns, creating five bays that correspond with the intercolumniations. She filled the three bays in the middle with square coffers, alternating one large block broad enough to span the distance between beams with panels of four smaller coffers laid in pairs to fill the same dimensions. In the outer sections, between the penultimate and final columns, she placed a single row of rectangular coffer blocks. These were supported on the inner side by the beams over the second and fifth columns and on the outer sides



Figure 9.15. Hieron. Grape-leaf coffer lid (?). After *Samothrace* 3, fig. 202.

¹⁸ The provenance of beam 28A also suggests it belongs to the porch, as it was found at the northwest corner of the porch. *Samothrace* 3,1, p. 112 n. 192.

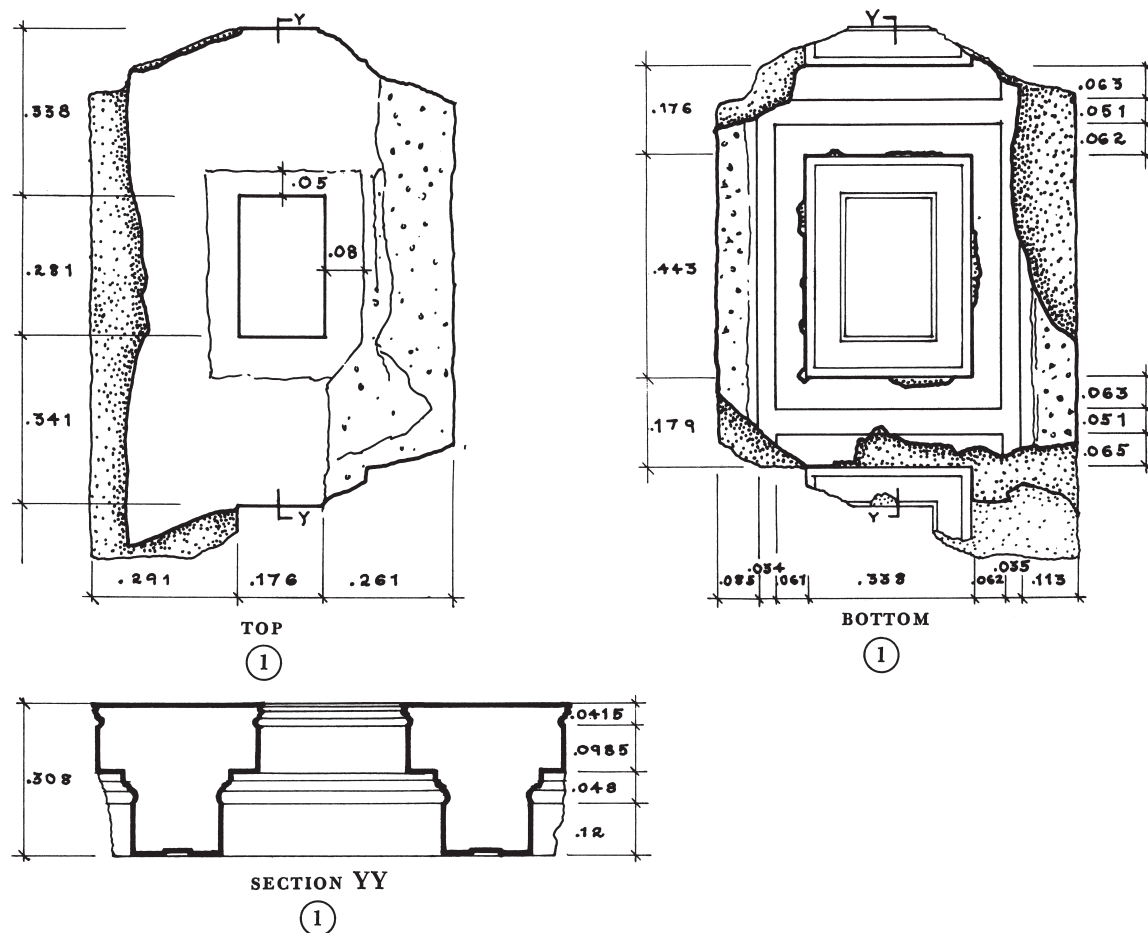
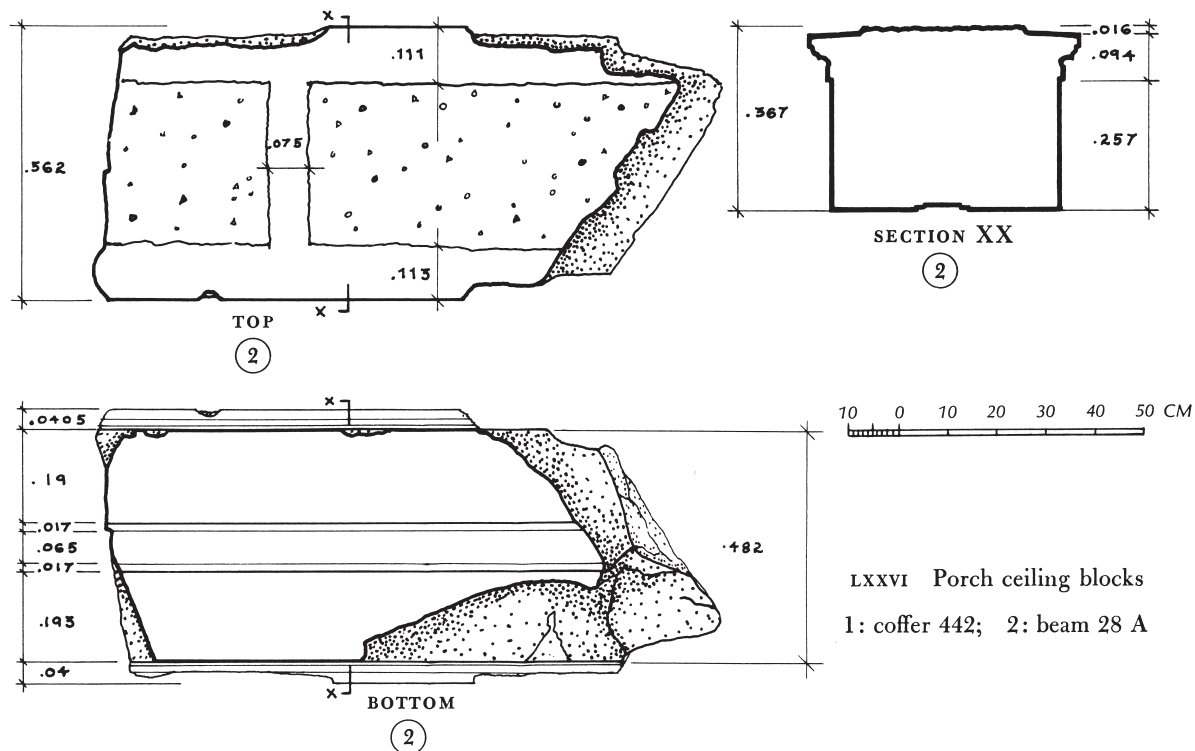
¹⁹ *Samothrace* 3,1, p. 114. The published drawing has been stretched so that the depth of the pronaos appears deeper than its actual dimensions. This discrepancy has been corrected in the reconstructions proposed here (Figs 9.19–9.20).

Figure 9.16. Hieron. Pronaos beam 60. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXIX.

by half-beams that rested on ledges above the uppermost wall courses, behind the lateral epistyle on either side. The blocks fit the space so seamlessly that Lehmann's reconstruction must be correct.

The remnants of the porch ceiling, however, are far less abundant, consisting only of block 442 (Fig. 9.17), which preserves one full rectangular coffer and two fragmentary adjacent ones, and a single beam, 28A (Fig. 9.18).²⁰ The dimensions of the porch are fixed by the foundations, the positions of the columns,

²⁰ *Samothrace* 3,1, pp. 111–112, pl. LXXVI.

Figure 9.17. Hieron. Porch coffer 442. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXVI.1.

LXXVI Porch ceiling blocks
1: coffer 442; 2: beam 28 A

Figure 9.18. Hieron. Beam 28A. After *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXVI.2.

and the surviving blocks of the epistyle. Measuring from the centers of the columns of the facade to those of the inner colonnade, the interaxial space is ca. 4.5 m deep, of which ca. 3.5 m of ceiling would have been visible from below.²¹ The visible width of the porch that the coffers and beams must fill is ca. 10.7 m. The preserved fragment (442) also demonstrates the blocks were made in rows of at least three consecutive coffers. Furthermore, the roughly treated surfaces on the longer sides of the soffit of the preserved coffer (442) make it certain that these blocks must have been arranged in single rows supported by beams on both sides.

As Lehmann proposes, a row of six coffers of the same type as block 442 easily fits the depth of the porch (Fig. 9.8). To cover the width of the porch, she aligned the ceiling beams with the four central columns, as in the pronaos. Because these strips of coffers were narrow, they required an intermediate beam between each column. At the edges of the porch, however, she ran into a problem. Because the Hieron is a Doric building, the intercolumnar space between the final two columns on each side is reduced. Recognizing that coffer 442 was too narrow to span the distance between the penultimate and final columns without assistance and too wide to afford a double row in the same space, Lehmann rightly predicted that she needed to insert a different, hypothetical coffer block in order to complete the ceiling.²² She supposed that the “missing” block would be identical in height and profile to the existing frame, differing only in width. A pair of these narrower blocks would fit into the outermost bays of the porch. She omitted the intermediate ceiling beams between the last two columns, supporting the restored coffers with the beam over the penultimate columns and a half-beam over the inner face of the lateral epistyle on each side. The scheme closely resembles the neat arrangement of the more securely reconstructed plan of the pronaos ceiling. According to Lehmann’s reconstruction, the two ceilings have a clear relationship to the columns that frame them, to one another, and to the interior space of the building, which seems to have been filled with long rows of smaller, wooden coffers. The regularity of the proposed scheme would have encouraged the pilgrims subtly but insistently to continue their procession through the liminal spaces of the porch and pronaos to the interior of the building.

The newly discovered coffer that belongs in the ceiling of the Hieron’s porch (T370; Figs 9.9, 9.10) does not vary from the previously known type in precisely the way that Lehmann envisioned. The chief discernable difference between the published, complete Hieron porch coffer (442) and the new, fragmentary one (T370) is in height (0.308 m versus 0.365 m, respectively) whereas it should vary in width if it were to solve the problem of the awkward spaces along the outer edges of the porch. Given this unexpected variation, we must reconsider the arrangement of the ceiling of the porch.

Fragmentary coffer block T370 has two vertical steps divided by a quadripartite molding and crowned by a double molding at the top (Figs 9.9, 9.10). The full profile is preserved. On the underside, the soffit is divided by an off-center carved band that delineates the outermost limits of a coffer resting on a supporting beam. The recessed band, both sides of which are beveled, measures 0.033 m in width. To one side of the band, a horizontal surface (0.090 m wide) leads to the back of the block, which is dressed roughly to rest against a ledge.²³ On the other side, a finely dressed surface (0.067 m wide), clearly intended to be visible, forms one side of the lower ‘frame’ of a coffer. Perpendicular to the soffit, the first vertical face rises upwards (0.15 m) until it meets an intermediate molding that consists of a shallow scotia, fillet, ovolo, and second fillet. A horizontal projection from the upper side of the molding constricts the inner space of the coffer by 0.075 m, forming the interior ‘frame’ of the recessed block. A second vertical face continues upwards and is crowned by another scotia and ovolo (0.177 m combined). The upper surface of the coffer is dressed (for 0.110 m) to receive a separately carved lid, beyond which it slopes sharply down to reduce the weight of the block.

The fragmentary block represents part of one side of a square or oblong coffer. It does not preserve any of its corners and therefore does not reveal the full dimension of any side of the coffer. However, its surviving length proves that at least one side of the frame must have been longer than 0.420 m. Because of the way the lower surface of the block is more finely dressed on the ‘inside’ of the recessed band on the soffit (i.e., the side towards the stepped face) than on the outer side, it is certain that at least one side of the block rested against a ledge rather than continuing to form an adjacent coffer.

²¹ The difference between the visible surface and the total surface results from a generous resting surface for the coffers beyond the open field of the ceiling that can be seen from below.

²² *Samothrace* 3, p. 112.

²³ To the outer edges of the recessed soffit band, the surface of the block is not finished as cleanly as it should be if it were to be seen. This rough dressing seems to be original and not a symptom of weathering. The treatment of this block further suggests its position on an awkward part of the ceiling grid, with an uneven but wide margin of stone on both sides intended to rest on the beams.

Because coffer T370 is not complete, restoring the ceiling plan of the porch remains difficult, but the surviving evidence does offer some guidelines. Most importantly, because the new coffer is significantly taller and is slightly wider at the soffit than the previously published block, it is safe to assume that T370 belongs to a coffer larger than the one with its full dimensions preserved in the center of block 442. Since the new coffer and others of its type are larger than the published block, they should occupy the center of the porch and those after block 442 must shift to the periphery. As Lehmann correctly noted, block 442 cannot fit into the contracted space of the outermost intercolumniation if the ceiling beams are aligned with the columns. Since we now know that the coffers of the same type as 442 should belong in the outer bays of the porch, the most significant effect of this revised arrangement is that the beams cannot align with the columns of the facade.²⁴ Consequently, we can be sure that the beams did not form a seamless visual line with the inner colonnade or the beams of the pronaos. This change profoundly affects not only the appearance of the ceiling of the porch itself but also its relationship to the evenly spaced pronaos ceiling behind. It transforms the experience of entering the porch and pronaos, interrupting the straightforward flow from one space to the other and creating two distinct areas.

As noted above, the visible portion of the porch's ceiling that the coffers must span is ca. 3.70 m deep and ca. 10.70 m wide. Blocks of both types (after T370 and 442) must be incorporated and must be supported by beams that follow the dimensions of the preserved beam, 28A. The full measurements of the published coffer and beam are certain. Coffers 442 has a maximum width of ca. 0.728 m across the soffit, of which probably not much more than ca. 0.540 m was seen from below.²⁵ The maximum length of the complete frame is ca. 0.568 m excluding the recessed border. Beam 28A measures ca. 0.482 m wide at the bottom and widens to ca. 0.562 m at the top, including the profiled projections that form resting surfaces for the rows of coffers laid above it.

Because its corners are not preserved and no suitable lids have been found to cover its upper opening, it is not possible to determine the exact size of the coffer represented by block T370. Several structurally feasible possibilities can be offered by taking into account the fixed dimensions of the porch and the complete measurements of coffer 442 and beam 28A. First, coffer T370 could be restored to match the dimensions of the one completely preserved frame of block 442, varying the width only slightly to match the discrepancies that are evident on its fragmentary frame and distributing the beams as needed between single rows of coffers.²⁶ This arrangement, however, would not take into account the added height of the new block, a feature that would have been unnecessary if there was to be no other difference between the two types of blocks.

More plausibly, T370 may be restored with a square frame such that its upper opening on all sides matches the longer side of block 442 (Option A, Fig. 9.19). This results in a coffer block that is ca. 0.281 m square at the top and expands to a maximum width of ca. 0.564 m at the bottom. A row of six such coffers easily covers the depth of the porch, matching the arrangement that Lehmann proposed using block 442. Although the neat alignment of the coffers, beams, and columns proposed by Lehmann cannot be maintained in the new arrangement incorporating the evidence offered by block T370, it is possible to obtain a relatively clear relationship between the elements by centering the beams with the midpoints of the intercolumniations between columns two through five. Even in this fairly resolved scenario, some awkwardness remains with the final two columns on each side. Across the facade, a central beam could be laid between the third and fourth intercolumniations. The beam would be flanked by three rows of large, square coffers, followed by a beam on each side. Bays of large, square coffers of the same type as in the center (i.e., after block T370) would follow. At the sides, a single row of rectangular blocks (after block 442) could be supported on one side by

²⁴ The lack of alignment between beams and columns is not unusual. Other buildings, including the Parthenon, Temple of Athena Nike, Hephaisteion, and Temple of Apollo at Bassai (pronaos and adyton), have an axial ceiling beam with the remaining beams spaced independently of the colonnade; see Orlandos 1978, figs 315, 324; Ross, Schaubert, and Hansen 1839, pls VI, X; Koch 1955, pl. 50; *Apollo Bassitas* I, pp. 348–349 and IV, pl. 61. Other structures, such as the Nereid Monument, have beams set over the wall ends but independently of the colonnade; see *Xanthos* VIII.2, pl. XLII.

²⁵ Calculation: $0.34 + 0.67 + 0.338 + 0.062 + 0.035 = 0.536$, with a ca. 0.002 m. offset beyond the recessed band on either side. It is possible that the 'frame' could have been slightly wider, if more of the area beyond the recessed band could be seen.

²⁶ For instance, the recessed band on coffer T370 is ca. 0.033 m rather than ca. 0.034 m; the horizontal space between the recessed band and the perpendicular surface of the first vertical rise is ca. 0.067 m rather than ca. 0.061–0.062 m; and the horizontal distance between the width of the coffer at the midpoint and the top is ca. 0.075 m on each side, rather than ca. 0.081 m. The elements that remain consistent are the dimensions of the uppermost opening where the lid would have rested and the varying widths of the recessed soffit band on block 442, measuring ca. 0.034 m on the long sides and ca. 0.051 m on the short sides.

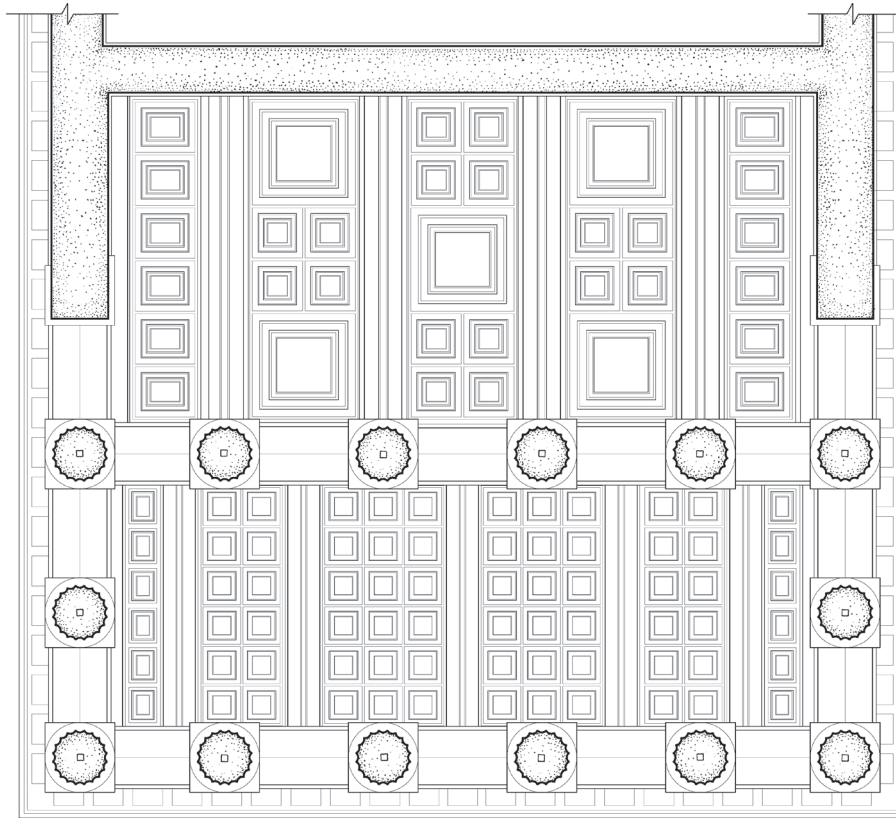


Figure 9.19. Option A. Reflected ceiling plan of the Hieron porch, with Lehmann's pronaos behind. Pronaos after *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXV; porch drawing Yong K. Kim.

the ceiling beams shared with the paired rows of larger coffers and on the other by half-beams laid over the inner side of the lateral epistyles. The scheme has the advantage of offering a relatively clear relationship between the columns and beams but the disadvantage of being unusual in varying the number of rows of coffers between beams. It is also somewhat unsatisfactory because it does not make use of all of the evidence that the surviving blocks provide: block 442 demonstrates that it was positioned between two flanking beams and the one preserved side of coffer T370 suggests that it also rested on a ledge. To accept Option A, one has to assume that coffer T370 was one of the outer blocks that was supported by a beam, rather than one of the interior frames.

A second possibility is Option B, in which the uppermost opening of coffer T370 is restored to exactly twice the size of block 442, creating large, oblong coffers oriented in the same direction (Fig. 9.20). In this case, the coffers that follow T370 would measure ca. 0.352 m by ca. 0.562 m at the top. Below, the maximum dimensions of each frame would be ca. 0.702 m by ca. 0.912 m. With these dimensions, four large rectangular frames would be needed to span the depth of the porch. If a beam was placed between columns three and four, paired rows of the large, oblong coffers could alternate with ceiling beams, leaving just enough space at the edges of the porch for a single row of the smaller rectangular frames (after block 442). Five beams would be needed, along with half-beams at the outer flanks. This arrangement is aesthetically pleasing because it has a regular rhythm of alternating coffers and beams. Furthermore, it may be more plausible because it takes advantage of the added height of the newly discovered block to support a longer, wider frame. It also uses all of the available evidence from the one preserved fragment, ensuring that at least one side of every coffer is supported by a beam.

In either case, placing the slimmer coffers along the outer sides serves to elongate the porch visually and to draw the viewer's attention towards the center. The most startling change from the previously published

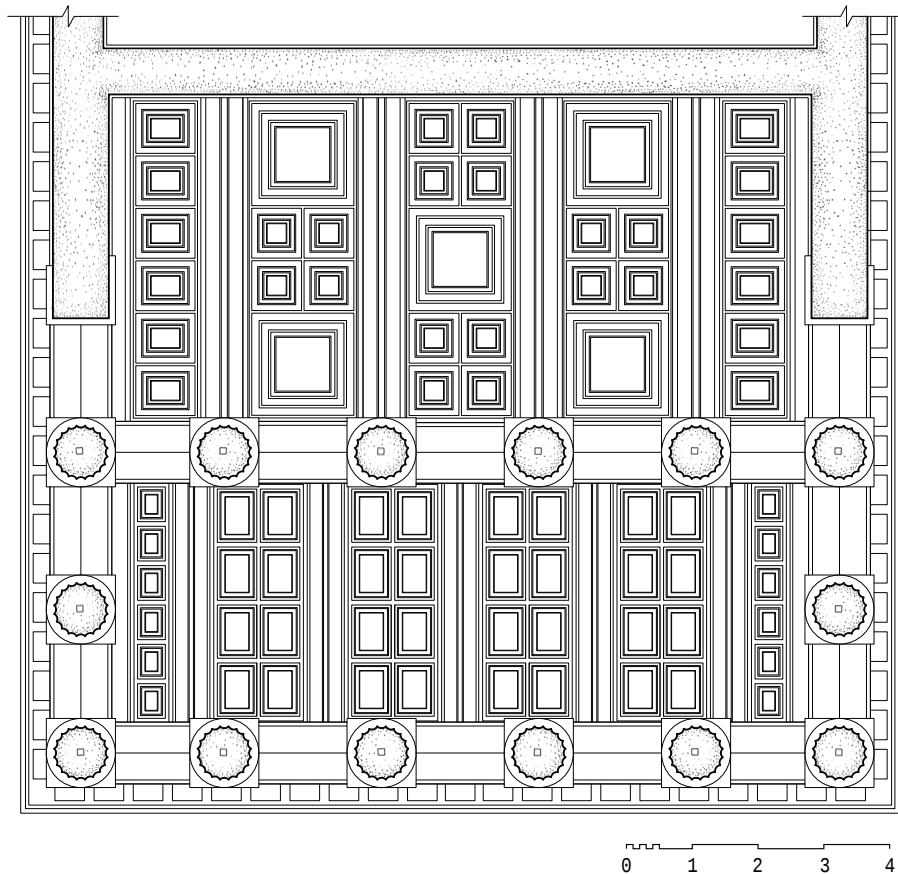


Figure 9.20. Option B. Reflected ceiling plan of the Hieron porch, with Lehmann's pronaos behind. Pronaos after *Samothrace* 3, pl. LXXXV; porch drawing Yong K. Kim.

reconstruction to those presented here is the disassociation between the beams and the columns. Given the importance of decorated ceilings in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the careful attention paid to the layout of this particular ceiling, the alignment must have been planned carefully to achieve a specific visual effect. If a seamless arrangement of columns, beams, and coffers served to propel the procession to continue in the same direction or at the same pace, perhaps a less straightforward arrangement signaled viewers to stop, slow down, or linger in one spot.

On the ceiling of the Ionic Porch, the blooming florals would have come into view at just the point where the initiates rounded the corner of the Sacred Way from the Eastern Hill and began their descent towards the heart of the Sanctuary. Perhaps the flowers served to draw attention to the small porch, encouraging the viewers to pause in order to see or listen to something at this critical point. The disembodied heads gazing down at all angles from the ceiling of the Hall of Choral Dancers, a building which must have played a key role in the initiatory rites, may have contributed to the impression of a supernatural gathering of gods, heroes, and initiates that appeared at a crucial moment in the ceremonies. In the Hieron, it is possible that the visual break in both the architecture and decoration of the finely crafted porch and pronaos ceilings signaled an intentional separation between the two parts of the building. The distinction between the physical spaces perhaps corresponded to a moment of discontinuity in the events that occurred as initiates made their way from the Sacred Way, through the porch, into the pronaos, and finally, inside the building. Perhaps it should be understood as a cue to the pilgrims to slow down or stop for a moment, in order to take in the spectacle of the centaurs dancing across the ceiling of the pronaos and to prepare themselves for the experiences that awaited them in the cella.

Acknowledgements

With great gratitude, I offer this essay to Professor McCredie as a token of thanks for his endless kindness, support, and guidance. It has been a pleasure to spend so many productive and enjoyable seasons working in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. I would also like to thank Yong K. Kim for his work on the drawings.

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10. The Victory of Samothrace and the Aftermath of the Battle of Pydna

Olga Palagia



Figure 10.1. Plaster cast of Victory of Samothrace. Samothrace Museum. Photo Olga Palagia.

Visitors to the Archaeological Museum of Samothrace can see a plaster cast of the Victory, bathed in sunlight coming through the windows (Fig. 10.1). She wears a transparent chiton without sleeves and a himation that would have slipped off her body were it not kept on by the force of the wind. Her windswept drapery was designed with the strong winds of Samothrace in mind. The original is made of Parian marble and stands on the prow of a grey marble warship (Figs 10.2–10.3). It is now set on top of a staircase in the Louvre, giving the impression that she has just alighted on her ship.¹ The Museum arrangement takes account of its findspot on Samothrace. The statue was excavated in 1863 by Charles Champoiseau, French consul in Edirne when Samothrace formed part of the Ottoman Empire. It came to light amidst the remains of a curious rectangular structure (here p. 7, Fig. 3.3, no. 12; p. 26, Fig. 3.27) at the highest spot of the Hellenistic theater, which dates from around 200 B.C.² The fragments of the statue were removed to the Louvre in 1864 and restored in several campaigns lasting until 1880. Champoiseau returned to Samothrace in 1879 and again in 1891 in order to fetch the blocks of the pedestal to Paris. Despite his efforts, a few blocks of the base remained on the island and are now on view outside the Samothrace Museum. One of the blocks carries cuttings for the attachment of the statue's plinth (Fig. 10.4).³

The right hand of the Victory (Fig. 10.5) came to light in 1950 during the excavations of Jean Charbonneaux, curator of the Louvre, who obtained special permission from the Greek government to continue the investigations for further fragments of the statue. Two fingers from the Austrian excavations of the 19th century that were kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna joined the hand. In 1965 by decree of the Greek parliament the hand was offered to the

¹ Paris, Louvre Ma 2369. Hamiaux 1998, pp. 27–32; Knell 1995, fig. 1. On the statue's discovery and restoration, see Hamiaux 2001 and 2004.

² Knell 1995, pp. 69–81, figs 9–12; 60–64; Lehmann and McCredie 1998, pp. 35, 91, fig. 38.

³ On the base, see Hamiaux 2006.



Figure 10.2. Victory of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre Ma 2369. Photo Olga Palagia.



Figure 10.3. Ship of Victory of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre Ma 2369. Photo Olga Palagia.



Figure 10.4. Fragment of base of Victory of Samothrace. Samothrace. Photo Olga Palagia.

Louvre in exchange for a number of marbles from Samothrace including a slab of the dancers' frieze from the Hall of Choral Dancers.⁴

The Victory is missing her head, arms, upper part of the torso, left hand, right wing and feet. Marianne Hamiaux's technical study of the statue has established its original form and appearance.⁵ It is made of a single marble block to which were attached the wings, carved separately, the right foot and a few billowing drapery folds. The cord fastening the chiton high under the breasts is a restoration made of plaster, therefore its existence is entirely conjectural. A photo of a plaster cast of the statue before restoration makes this absolutely clear.⁶ In addition, the right wing is lost too. What we see on the statue today is a 19th century restoration, also in plaster, modelled on the left wing and placed too close to the stump of the right upper arm. Hamiaux reached the conclusion that the wind blew from the east (right), pushing the right wing towards the left.⁷ The present impression of the Victory with wings wide open like a butterfly is therefore not quite right, for the wings were closer together. The Victory's himation flaps against her right thigh and is about to collapse on the ground. Her right profile is unfinished (Fig. 10.2), it was therefore not meant to be seen. Her best view is

⁴ Hamiaux 1998, pp. 32–33; Hamiaux 2004, pp. 107–109, figs 73–77.

⁵ Hamiaux 2004.

⁶ Hamiaux 2004, figs 9–11, 13–15.

⁷ Hamiaux 2004, pp. 95–107.

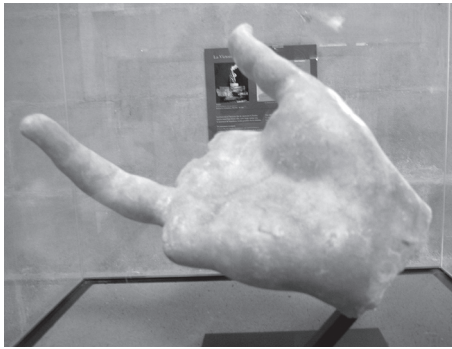


Figure 10.5. Right hand of Victory of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre. Photo Olga Palagia.



Figure 10.6. Rock-cut ship and exedra. Lindos, acropolis. Photo Olga Palagia.

in three quarter view from her proper left (Fig. 10.1). A ribbon was tentatively restored in the right hand but the palm is smooth and may have held nothing (Fig. 10.5).

The motif of Nike standing on a ship's prow first appeared on the silver tetradrachms issued by Demetrios Poliorketes after the disastrous battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. in order to remind his army of the victorious naval battle off Salamis in Cyprus in 306.⁸ Demetrios' Victory blows her trumpet, holding a ship's mast (*stylis*) in her left hand. Her general similarity to the Victory of Samothrace has led to an association of the statue with Demetrios and to an early dating to the beginning of the 3rd century.⁹ The Victory's origins were alternatively traced to Hellenistic Rhodes and its date lowered by about a century by comparison with of a rock-cut warship dedication on the acropolis of Lindos on the island of Rhodes (Fig. 10.6).¹⁰ Its stern formed the background to the portrait statue of Agesandros son of Mikion, who was honored by the Rhodians in the early 2nd century B.C. The statue, which is now lost, was signed by the Rhodian sculptor Pythokritos, and was set up on a base placed in front of the rock relief.¹¹ The grey limestone of the acropolis of Lindos was compared to the grey stone of the Victory's pedestal, which was consequently identified as grey marble from the quarries of Lartos near Lindos.¹² The grey color with large white patches and the fine grain of the fragments of the Victory's base now in Samothrace (Fig. 10.4) are indeed compatible with Lartian marble, quarried in the area between Lartos and Lindos (Fig. 10.7). Lartian marble was used extensively on Rhodes in the Hellenistic and Roman periods for the production of statue bases (Fig. 10.8) and architectural elements.¹³ It is therefore not impossible that Lartian marble was carried to Samothrace for the creation of the Victory's pedestal, particularly if the sculptor was indeed Rhodian. The Rhodian source of the stone has entailed the attribution to a Rhodian sculptor and more significantly, to a Rhodian donor. The Victory of Samothrace was associated with the naval victory of the Rhodians over Antiochos the Great off Myonessos in 190 B.C.¹⁴ The Rhodian connection has persisted to this day despite Ridgway's efforts to point out the lack of official contacts between the Rhodian state and Samothrace, and Knell's attempt to associate the Victory with a general of the Roman Republic.¹⁵ Hamiaux recently questioned the statue's association with Rhodes despite the provenance of the marble for its base.¹⁶

The putative origin of the artist need not determine the ethnicity of the donor. Rhodian sculptors in the Hellenistic period travelled extensively and seem to have produced works in a variety of styles.¹⁷ Rhodians are thought to have participated in the carving of the Great Altar of Pegamon, commissioned by Eumenes

⁸ Green 1990, p. 30, fig. 12; Mørholm 1991, pp. 77–78, pl. X, 162; Knell 1995, p. 86, fig. 66; Hamiaux 2001, fig. 9.

⁹ Smith 1991, pp. 77–79 with earlier references.

¹⁰ Mark 1998 with earlier references.

¹¹ *Lindos* II, no. 169; Gabrielsen 1997, p. 88, pl. 5.

¹² Cf. Mark 1998, p. 157 with n. 3; Hamiaux 2006, p. 7 with n. 17, pp. 55–56, figs 35–39.

¹³ The statue base of the dedication of Polykles son of Polykrates (Fig. 10.8) on the acropolis of Lindos is an example out of many: *Lindos* II, no. 57. On Lartian marble and its employment for statue bases on Rhodes, cf. Merker 1973, p. 6. On the few sculptures carved out of Lartian marble, see Hamiaux 2006, p. 55 n. 142.

¹⁴ Mark 1998, pp. 157–158. See Hamiaux (2006, p. 52–55) on the history of the Rhodian connection and its problems.

¹⁵ Ridgway 2000, pp. 150–156; Knell 1995, pp. 97–101.

¹⁶ Hamiaux 2006, p. 56; Hamiaux 2007, 39–40.

¹⁷ On present evidence we cannot distinguish a specific "Rhodian" style: cf. Mattusch 1998; Hamiaux 2006, p. 57 n. 151.



Figure 10.7. Quarry of Lartian marble. Near Lindos, Rhodes. Photo Olga Palagia.



Figure 10.8. Statue base dedicated by Polykles son of Polykrates. Lindos. Photo Olga Palagia.



Figure 10.9. Left wing of Victory of Samothrace. Paris, Louvre Ma 2369. After M. Hamiaux, *MonPiot* 83, 2004, fig. 25.



Figure 10.10. Victory from the Great Altar of Pergamon. Berlin, Pergamon-Museum. After E. Schmidt, *The Great Altar of Pergamon* (London 1965) pl. 10.

II of Pergamon.¹⁸ In addition, there is a historical reason why the Rhodian state could not have made such a major state dedication in the sanctuary of the Great Gods in 190: Samothrace was under the political control of the Macedonian king Philip V. A statue base of Philip V dedicated by the Macedonians to the Great Gods (here p. 7, Fig. 3.5) testifies to his influence on the island.¹⁹

If the statue cannot be associated with the Rhodian state for historical reasons, we must seek its date on the basis of style. The stylistic affinity of the Victory of Samothrace to the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon now in Berlin is not in doubt; her date is more or less anchored to that of the Altar.²⁰ The modelling of her wings (Fig. 10.9) is identical to the wings of figures from the Altar, for example those of Nike crowning Athena (Fig. 10.10). The centrifugal torsion arrested in mid career, the modelling of the naked body under the transparent dress, and the draperies pushed against the body by the wind can be found in many figures of the Gigantomachy on the Great Altar. But the Victory's greatest affinity is with the so-called Terme Ruler in Rome, who shows the same pose with the arrested centrifugal motion.²¹ Like the Victory, his weight rests on the right leg, left foot drawn back. His head is also turned right. Only the position of his arms is reversed, with the left arm raised, right lowered, whereas the Victory's arms are the other way round. The ruler is now identified with Attalos II of Pergamon and attributed to a Pergamene workshop, affiliated to the Great Altar of Pergamon. Having established the Pergamene connection of the Victory, we must raise the question of dating. Obviously she was more or less contemporary with the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon and can be attributed to one of its sculptors.

But what is the date of the Pergamon Altar? Its placement in the decade 190–180 B.C. was convenient for those who wanted to associate the Victory of Samothrace with the naval victory of the Rhodians in 190. However, the traditional chronology of the Altar has been revised downwards thanks to a fresh study of the pottery from its foundations, which is now placed in the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. The Altar is now thought to have started in the reign of Eumenes II around 172 and to have been completed in that of his brother, Attalos II, sometime around 156.²² The Victory's date must be revised accordingly.

It has been suggested that the Victory standing on a ship's prow implies victory at sea, the dedication was therefore made by a great naval power. There is only a handful of comparable ship monuments in the Hellenistic period and few provide enough information to illuminate their purpose. None can be proved to have carried a statue of Nike. The Victory of Samothrace is so far unique. To begin with, the rock-cut ship monument at Lindos (Fig. 10.6) shows a stern not a prow. It did not serve as a statue base, and did not accompany a divine image but an honorary portrait statue. A large fragmentary marble ship's prow at Lindos served as the statue base of a naval commander, and two trierarchs are commemorated in the inscription, which is dated to the mid 3rd century B.C.²³ Another ship, of smaller scale, serving as a statue base in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros (Fig. 10.11) from the late 4th century B.C. was made from the spoils of war but there is no mention of a naval battle and the city making the dedication is not specified.²⁴ The foundations of a large ship monument of the 2nd century B.C. survive in the agora of Thasos (Fig. 10.12) but there is no accompanying inscription.²⁵

The best parallel to the Victory of Samothrace is offered by a ship monument in the agora of Cyrene, showing a wingless female figure standing on a ship's prow (Fig. 10.13).²⁶ Because of the remains of the neck-guard of a helmet on her rear she has been tentatively identified with Athena.²⁷ This monument is even more intriguing than the Victory of Samothrace because it bears no inscription explaining the occasion for the

¹⁸ On the possible Rhodian contribution to the sculpture of the Great Altar, see Merker 1973, p. 14.

¹⁹ Lehmann 1998, pp. 106, 163, fig. 80.

²⁰ Carpenter 1960, p. 203; Mark 1998, p. 157; Ridgway 2000, p. 151; Hamiaux 2007, pp. 43–44. On the Great Altar of Pergamon, see now Queyrel 2005; Massa-Pairault 2007.

²¹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano: Palazzo Massimo alle Terme 1049. Queyrel 2003, pp. 200–234, E1, pls 32–34: 170–160 B.C.

²² The current position is summarized by De Luca and Radt 1999, pp. 120–125. Queyrel (2005, pp. 123–125) downdates the Altar to the reign of Attalos II (158–138 B.C.). Massa-Pairault (2007, pp. 24–28) places the construction of the Altar within the reign of Eumenes II (197–158 B.C.)

²³ *Lindos II*, no. 88; *L'Agorà di Cirene III*, 1, 1981, pp. 62–64, ill. 4–5; Hamiaux 2006, p. 43, figs 48–49.

²⁴ *IG IV* 1180–1183; *IG IV*² 306D; Lehmann 1973, p. 193 n. 16, fig. 8; *L'Agorà di Cirene III*, 1, pp. 60–62, ill. 1–3.

²⁵ *L'Agorà di Cirene III*, 1, p. 66; Grandjean and Salviat 2000, p. 77.

²⁶ *L'Agorà di Cirene III*, 1; Hamiaux 2006, p. 43, fig. 47.

²⁷ *L'Agorà di Cirene III*, 1, p. 110.

dedication and there is no context pottery to help with dating. It was published in 1981 as a naval monument of Ptolemy III and dated to the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C.²⁸ Ptolemy III married Berenike, daughter of Magas of Cyrene, hence the connection with Cyrene. The style of the statue, however, does not bear out a 3rd-century date. Its drapery and stance are close to a late Hellenistic Artemis from Delos, dating from the 1st century B.C.²⁹ If the Cyrene monument also dates from the 1st century, it may be a dedication of one of the generals of the Roman Republic, and the suggestion that it commemorates Pompey's defeat of the pirates in 67 B.C. is as good as any.³⁰

From our brief survey of naval monuments we can safely say that their purposes varied: they could either be honoring individuals or commemorating significant naval events. The warship of the Victory of Samothrace offers no help in specifying the donor or the occasion for the dedication.³¹ The ship's prow may refer to a fleet but need not commemorate a naval battle seeing that it is set up in a sanctuary adjacent to a naval base. It is too large for a dedication of a single individual. An entire fleet or a state must be responsible for it. The island had its own fleet, and Ridgway has in fact suggested that the monument was erected by the city of Samothrace to honor King Philip V of Macedon who controlled the island from ca. 200 until his death in 179.³²



Figure 10.11. Ship monument of Epidauros. Photo Olga Palagia.



Figure 10.12. Foundation of ship monument. Thasos, agora. Photo Margaret Miles.



Figure 10.13. Ship monument of Cyrene. Photo Hans R. Goette.

²⁸ *L'Agorà di Cirene* III,1, pp. 78–80, 98, 132–134.

²⁹ Athens, National Museum 1829. Kaltsas 2002, no. 616; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, pp. 88–89, no. 35.

³⁰ Knell 1995, pp. 87–88, fig. 67.

³¹ On the ship, see Gabrielsen 1997, pp. 92–93; Hamiaux 2006, pp. 53–55.

³² Ridgway 2000, p. 156.

We have seen, however, that Philip's dates are probably too high for the statue, which is anchored to the (revised) chronology of the Great Altar of Pergamon. Philip's son and successor Perseus controlled Samothrace from his accession in 179 until his defeat by the Romans at the battle of Pydna in 168.³³ Perseus won no sea battles and would have had no occasion for such a grandiose naval dedication. He nevertheless used the ship motif on the coins he minted at Amphipolis, perhaps as an advertisement of his fleet,³⁴ and we must not forget that Demetrios Poliorketes who issued the coins with Nike blowing a trumpet was his ancestor and founder of his dynasty. Even if we assume that Perseus dedicated the Victory of Samothrace to honor his fleet, the attribution of the statue to a Pergamene workshop is a drawback. Relations between Perseus and the Attalids of Pergamon were strained at best, considering that Perseus was the suspected instigator of a murderous attack on Eumenes II of Pergamon while he was visiting Delphi.³⁵ The Attalid kingdom was a staunch supporter and ally of Rome, fighting on the Roman side at the battle of Pydna. The employment of a sculptor of the Pergamene School would therefore have come more naturally to the Romans than to Perseus.

After the collapse of the kingdom of Macedon in 168 B.C., the Romans took over Samothrace. Their interest in the cult of the Great Gods was manifest already in the 3rd century B.C., when Claudius Marcellus dedicated to the Great Gods of Samothrace part of the spoils from his capture of Syracuse (Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*, 30.4). The founder of Troy, Dardanos, came from Samothrace, and the Romans considered themselves related to the Trojans by association with the Trojan hero, Aeneas.³⁶

After his defeat in the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C., Perseus took refuge with family and fortune as a suppliant in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. He was followed there by the Roman fleet. The events of his escape are narrated by Livy (45.5.1–6.11) and by Plutarch in his *Life of Aemilius Paulus* (26).³⁷ After he was betrayed by the Cretan captain who had agreed to carry him to safety in Thrace, and after most of his family was captured by the Romans, Perseus surrendered himself to the praetor in command of the Roman fleet, Gnaeus Octavius. The Romans thus did not violate the sanctity of the sanctuary but persuaded their enemy to give himself up of his own accord. The capture of Perseus put an end to the kingdom of Macedon, and Macedonia became a Roman province. The Romans had every reason to celebrate the memorable occasion of Perseus' capture on the island which was as important as their victory at Pydna. Aemilius Paulus' memorial of his victory at Pydna was erected at Delphi in 167 utilizing an unfinished monument of his adversary Perseus (Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paulus* 28.4).³⁸ The Victory of Samothrace may well be its pendant, dedicated by the commander of the Roman fleet, Gnaeus Octavius, to immortalize Perseus' surrender on the island. Even though carved by a Greek, possibly Rhodian, sculptor of the Pergamene School, the Victory would thus be a Roman monument, one of the earliest Roman monuments on Greek soil.³⁹ A Roman connection was put forward by Heiner Knell in 1995, drawing a parallel between the Victory of Samothrace, the Cyrene ship monument, and Augustus' coins issued in commemoration of his naval victory at Actium. He also pointed to the similarity between the Victory's location at the highest point of the theater on Samothrace and the temple of Venus Genetrix erected at the top of the theater of Pompey in Rome.⁴⁰ His dating of the Victory of Samothrace to the 1st century B.C. is untenable for stylistic reasons but the Roman connection is more than possible.

The Victory of Samothrace very likely had an impact on the ship monument of Cyrene. She may have also inspired the iconography of the corner acroteria of the south side of the temple known as the Hieron of Samothrace.⁴¹ The "Hieron" is dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century through the pottery contexts of its foundations and the sculptures of the north pediment likely belong to its original phase.⁴² The acroteria,

³³ On the reign of Perseus, see Hammond and Walbank 1988, pp. 490–559.

³⁴ Mørkholm 1991, p. 164, pl. XXXIX, 593–594.

³⁵ In 172 B.C.: Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 499; Green 1990, pp. 427–428; Queyrel 2003, p. 139.

³⁶ Cf. *Samothrace* 1, nos. 55a–63.

³⁷ On these events, see also *Samothrace* 1, nos. 113–127.

³⁸ Delphi Museum. Hammond and Walbank 1988, pp. 613–617; Jacquemin 1999, p. 340, no. 348, p. 350, no. 424; Kolonia 2006, pp. 339–344.

³⁹ Carpenter (1960, p. 204) assumed that because the Victory of Samothrace was carved by a sculptor of the Pergamene School, the donor was also Pergamene, and interpreted it as a memorial of the Pergamene fleet that assisted the Romans against Perseus.

⁴⁰ Knell 1995, pp. 82–101, figs 68 (Augustus' coin commemorating Actium), 77 (theater of Pompey).

⁴¹ *Samothrace* 3.1, pp. 364–370, figs 317–326.

⁴² Phyllis Lehmann's low chronology of the pedimental sculpture of the "Hieron" is now revised upwards by Webb 1996, pp.

however, seem to have been an afterthought.⁴³ The south side faces the theater and its acroteria would have been visible from it. The excavations of the Institute of Fine Arts in front of the southwest corner of the temple brought to light a corner acroterion representing a life-size Nike (Fig. 10.14).⁴⁴ It is made of Parian marble and is now in the Samothrace Museum. Fragments of a similar figure, mainly bits of a wing (Fig. 10.15), came to light at the southeast corner.⁴⁵ These fragments are now in the storerooms of the Samothrace Museum. Both acroteria come from a destruction level dated to the time of Emperor Augustus and probably fell victim to an earthquake during his reign.

The elongated limbs and high waist of the Victory acroterion (Fig. 10.14) are unique in the sculpture of Samothrace. Its style finds its closest parallel in the figures of the frieze of the temple of Hekate at Lagina, in Caria, now in the Istanbul Museum, dating from the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C.⁴⁶ The Victory's (Fig. 10.14) right hand is raised, supported by a strut on her right shoulder. She must have held a long metallic rod which was attached to her garment by means of a lump of lead, still visible on the himation folded over her left thigh. Her left forearm and hand were made separately and attached by means of a tenon. The metallic rod held across her body may have been a ship's mast (*stylis*), a common attribute of maritime Victories.⁴⁷ Similar objects are held by Victories on coins of Demetrios Poliorketes and of Alexander the Great; the latter commemorated the Athenian naval victory at Salamis during the Persian Wars of the 5th century.⁴⁸

The damaged Hellenistic acroteria of the south side of the so-called Hieron were replaced with early Roman imperial variants. An almost intact Roman Nike was found in the 19th century Austrian excavations and is now in Vienna.⁴⁹ The influence of the Victory of Samothrace can be detected in another statue associated with the "Hieron," which was excavated by the Austrians in front of the north facade of the temple (Fig. 10.16). Phyllis Lehmann attributed it to the north pediment but it does not belong there because it is too deep for the pediment floor.⁵⁰ Homer Thompson



Figure 10.14. Victory acroterion from the southwest corner of the "Hieron" of Samothrace. Samothrace Museum. Photo Olga Palagia.

144–146; Palagia et al. 2009, p. 115.

⁴³ Webb 1996, p. 147.

⁴⁴ *Samothrace* 3, I, pp. 364–368, figs 317–324; Lehmann 1973, p. 463, pl. 113a; Webb 1996, fig. 135.

⁴⁵ *Samothrace* 3, I, p. 370, SLA 49.490, 50.117, figs 325–326.

⁴⁶ Webb 1996, p. 147, figs 82–91. On the frieze of the Hekataion, see Baumeister 2007.

⁴⁷ On the Nike's hands and attributes, see Palagia et al. 2009, pp. 115–116.

⁴⁸ Mørkholm 1991, pls I, 7, 8, 12 and X, 162, 170.

⁴⁹ Ephesos Museum I 680, Vienna. *Samothrace* 3, II, pp. 113–116, figs 431–433, 437; Oberleitner 1978, p. 132, no. 233, fig. 115.

⁵⁰ Ephesos Museum I 345, Vienna. *Samothrace* 3, I, pp. 254–255, figs 213–214, 254; Oberleitner 1978, pp. 135–136, no. 240, fig. 121. The depth of the pediment floor is 47 cm, whereas the depth of the flying drapery at the rear of the statue is 65 cm: Palagia et al. 2009, p. 116.



Figure 10.15. Wing fragment from Victory acroterion from the southeast corner of the “Hieron” of Samothrace. Samothrace Museum. Photo Olga Palagia.

suggested that it may be the central acroterion of the north side.⁵¹ Its close stylistic affinity to the Victory of Samothrace indicates a date in the late second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. If it was an acroterion, it more likely belonged to one of the corners of the north side of the “Hieron” and must have been made shortly after the dedication of the Victory, probably inspired by her. We would thus have acroteria added to the temple just before the mid 2nd century, in the late 2nd century, and in the period of Augustus. Reflections of the Victory of Samothrace seem to be evident in all of them. And this would be hardly surprising if the Victory commemorated an important event in Roman history since all extant acroteria of the “Hieron” date from the period of Roman domination of the island.



Figure 10.16. Striding female statue from Samothrace. Vienna, Ephesos Museum I 345. Photo Olga Palagia.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to James R. McCredie for introducing me to the magic of Samothrace, providing all facilities for the study of material from the excavations of the Institute of Fine Arts, and for his generous hospitality and advice on all things Samothracian. My work in the sanctuary of the Great Gods was greatly facilitated by Dimitris Matsas and Bonna Wescoat. The Victory of Samothrace provided the occasion for visits to Paris, Vienna and Rhodes, and I thank Eugene Ladopoulos for his companionship and assistance at all times. Ira Mark kindly helped me locate a Lartian marble quarry between Lartos and Lindos. Margaret Miles and Hans R. Goette generously provided photos of the Thasos and Cyrene ship monuments respectively. Early versions of this paper were presented at the Archaeological Society of Athens, “La Sapienza” University in Rome and the Institute of Fine Arts in New York.

⁵¹ Thompson 1973, p. 229.

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11. Marble Votive Statuettes of Women from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace

Sheila Dillon

The two summers I spent on Samothrace as a graduate student at the Institute of Fine Arts were pivotal moments in my professional career. I shall be forever grateful to Jim McCredie for giving me the opportunity to participate in the ongoing work at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, and I offer this modest contribution in thanks and with esteem.

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the island of Samothrace is perhaps best known for its monumental sacred architecture, its royal patronage, and its grand Winged Victory, arguably the most famous marble statue of Hellenistic art (Fig. 10.1). As an important sanctuary in the Hellenistic period, it attracted royal architectural dedications, such as the Propylon of Ptolemy II and the Rotunda of Arsinoe II. Many smaller, more modest sculpted dedications were also made in honor of the Great Gods by initiates to the mysteries. I publish here the remains of five dedications in the form of marble statuettes representing female votaries. These pieces were found during the early years of the excavation, from the late 1930s to the mid 1950s; I will discuss them in the order in which they were found. While these statuettes are fragmentary and do not seem to have been found in their original display contexts, they are important material evidence of individual piety and provide permanent and visible reminders of the personal act of religious dedication. The Sanctuary of the Great Gods



Figure 11.1. Marble statuette from the area of the Rotunda of Arsinoe; H. 20 cm. Inv. 39.394, front view. Photo Sheila Dillon.



Figure 11.2. Marble statuette from the area of the Rotunda of Arsinoe. Inv. 39.394, right side. Photo Sheila Dillon.



Figure 11.3. Marble statuette from the area of the Rotunda of Arsinoe. Inv. 39.394, left side. Photo Sheila Dillon.

would once have been filled with sculpted marble, bronze, and terracotta votives of all sizes standing both outside the monumental sacred buildings and displayed within. This paper is preliminary to a more thorough study of the marble and terracotta votive sculpture from the Sanctuary.

The first statuette is a modest piece of marble sculpture that was found in 1939 lying on the surface directly north of the Rotunda of Arsinoe (Figs 11.1–11.3); it was broken into two pieces at the knees.¹ The statuette, which is missing its head, was originally carved from a single piece of marble – head, body and plinth together. The surface is worn and has a dark brown patina; there are chips on the front of the body, and the front corners of the thick plinth are missing. The back and much of the sides have a rough picked surface finish; only the front of the statuette was carved and finished with any care. The figure is dressed in a mantle and chiton. The mantle is wrapped tightly around the body and drawn up high around the neck, completely enveloping the arms and hands. The folds thus created in the mantle have been indicated by a series of double raised lines that rake diagonally across the front of the body from upper left to lower right. The lower edge of the mantle reaches to the knees, below which the chiton falls in parallel vertical folds around the lower legs. The right arm is bent up sharply at the elbow and placed across the chest, while the left is held down at the side. The figure stands with the weight on the left leg, with the right placed off to the side. The front of the right foot protrudes from the hem of the chiton; the front of the left foot is completely hidden. The statuette, which has quite slender proportions, is a tiny version of a popular Hellenistic female statue format known as the “Arm-Sling” type, examples of which can be found in both monumental marble statues and terracotta figurines.² The lack of any attachment holes in the bottom surface, and the thickness and weight of the plinth suggest that the statuette was simply set on a bench or shelf for display.

Another surface find from the area around the Rotunda of Arsinoe is a marble female head that probably originally belonged to a very large votive statuette (Fig. 11.4).³ At about half life size, it is the largest fragment of the group. Like much of the sculpture from the site, it appears to be made of Thasian marble. While the original surface is almost completely gone, and the crown, back, and right side of the head are mostly missing, close observation shows that the head was once a very finely detailed and sensitive portrait.⁴ The face is rounded and fleshy; it is as broad at the bottom as it appears to have been at the forehead, and in profile there is a distinct double chin. The round fat face is noteworthy and clearly a portrait feature; most Hellenistic images of women – both mortal and divine – tend to utilize the more flattering oval shape for the face. The mouth is small and turned down at the corners, with a thin line separating the gently closed lips. The nose appears to have been quite wide at the bottom. The upper eyelids are thick and rounded and delineated at the upper and lower edges by finely engraved lines. At the outer corner the upper lid crosses over the lower,

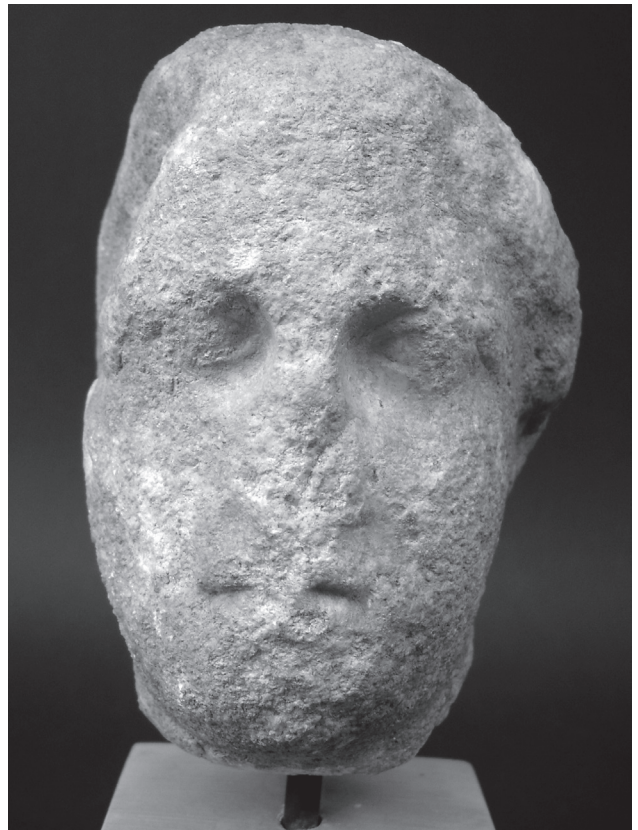


Figure 11.4. Portrait head from a large statuette, found in the area of the Rotunda of Arsinoe; H. 15 cm. Inv. 48.289, front. Photo Sheila Dillon.

¹ Samothrace inv. no. 39.394. Preserved H. 20 cm; plinth dimensions: max. H. 3.3 cm; W. 6.5 cm; D. 6.6 cm. Found on July 11, 1939. Now on display in the Samothrace Museum, Hall B, case 4, shelf 2.

² Monumental marble examples can be found in Eule 2001; for terracotta figurines, see *Tanagra*. For a discussion of the date of the “Arm-Sling” format and its use for female portraits in the Hellenistic period, see Dillon 2007, pp. 75–76; Dillon 2010, pp. 91–92.

³ Samothrace inv. no. 48.289. Preserved H. 15 cm; W. 11 cm; D. 10 cm. Found July 19, 1948 lying on the surface just outside of the foundations for the Rotunda of Arsinoe. Notebook: I pp. 96–97. Lehmann 1950, pp. 18–19, fig. 35, pl. 12.

⁴ Its quality was immediately recognized by Lehmann, who not only mentions its discovery in the preliminary report for 1948, but also illustrates the fragment in a full plate.

which is marked by a single incised line along its upper edge. The eyes themselves are deeply set, particularly at the inner corners, and framed by gracefully arching brows that grow straight out of the root of the nose. The forehead, which is triangular in shape, is smooth and unlined and swells slightly above the eyebrows. The hair appears to have been parted at the center. On the slightly better preserved left side of the head we can see that the hair was worn over the top of the ear. It was probably gathered into a bun at the nape of the neck, since there is no indication of shoulder locks or of any hair on either side of the neck. A small section of the neck is preserved, but not enough to determine the original pose of the head.

At 15 cm, the head must have come from a major votive statuette of around 1.20 m in height. Statues in this mid-range size – about half the size of a life-sized statue – are not unusual, and represent a more economical alternative to a life size votive portrait. When set on a base, as such a statue surely would have been, the total height of this votive monument would have been close to that of a life-sized statue. A marble statue of a draped female from Delos, with its veiled head worked separately for insertion, provides a good parallel for the general size and effect of the Samothrace votive.⁵ It is difficult to know at this point how common such large scale votive statuettes of women were in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, although there is another, much better preserved marble head of similar scale found in 1988 during excavations of the Neorion.⁶ This head, identified by Katherine Welch as an image of the “Great Mother,” was worked for insertion into the statue body. Not enough of the neck of our fragment is preserved to determine if our head was similarly worked, but it is probably likely that it was; indeed much of the marble statuary from the Sanctuary seems to have been pieced.⁷ A statuette of this size, made of imported marble, would more than likely have had a separately worked head.

For the portrait itself, the closest parallels to the Samothrace head can be found in the portraits of early Ptolemaic queens. While much different in scale and in its state of preservation, the colossal head of a 3rd century Hellenistic queen, perhaps Berenike II, has many similar formal qualities, including a full round face, low forehead, broad nose, and rounded chin. The hairstyle seems to be comparable as well.⁸ Given the close relationship between the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the Ptolemies, this similarity is not surprising. Whether this votive portrait represents a Hellenistic queen or a member of the local elite emulating the queen in her portrait, we cannot be sure. While it is surely Hellenistic in date, the very poor surface preservation makes it impossible to determine if the head wore a diadem, the presence of which would help to identify the image as royal.

The second head of the group published here is much smaller, with a preserved height of only 6 cm (Figs 11.5–11.6).⁹ Also made of Thasian marble, it was found in 1949 at the foot of the terrace wall for the Hall of Choral Dancers, together with many fragments of the frieze with dancing girls in archaistic style.¹⁰ Broken at the neck, it must have once belonged to a statuette that was around a half meter tall. While much of the face and top left side of the head are gone, this was once a lovely piece. Worked fully in the round, the face is a delicate oval and the neck is slender and graceful, with a shallow crease on the right side indicating that the head was turned gently to the right. The outline of the right eye is just visible and suggests that the eyes were large and almond in shape. A veil covers most of the hair; only the right ear and a bit of hair framing the face at the right side are visible. The veil appears to have been draped loosely over the shoulders as well; the gracefully curving outline of the edge particularly at the right suggests this. The front edges of the veil have been carefully undercut on either side of the neck by deeply drilled channels. It is clear, therefore, that

⁵ Delos Museum inv. no. A4129. H. 1.30 m. From the *Maison des Cinq Statues*. Marcadé 1996, pp. 158–159, no. 69 (P. Jockey).

⁶ Welch 1996. During the summer of 2007 I identified an interesting group of marble helmeted heads of various sizes found in the area of the Neorion; I intend to focus first on this sculpture in my study of the votive statuary from Samothrace.

⁷ For example, the pedimental sculptures of the Hieron were pieced: *Samothrace* 3, I, pp. 237–387; Lehmann 1962. A large number of fragments of marble sculpture with dowel holes have been found in the excavation, including hands and feet. For example, a sandaled foot (inv. no. 88.551) and a draped wrist fragment (inv. no. 88.129) found in the same area as the head of the “Great Mother” were said by Welch to be of similar size, material, and workmanship. They may well belong to the same statue.

⁸ Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. Sk. 115. H. 38 cm. This marble head wears a flat diadem and is said to be from Alexandria. Smith 1988, p. 166, no. 54 (“Kassel Queen”), pl. 37.4–5. See also the two life size heads with a similar full-faced appearance in Kyrieleis 1975, K 2 and K 3, pp. 180–181, pls 84–85.

⁹ Samothrace inv. no. 49.247. Pres. H. 6 cm; W. 4 cm; D. 4.5 cm. Found June 27, 1949. Diary: p. 38. Published in *Samothrace* 5, p. 399, no. 110.

¹⁰ The excavation of this area is described in Lehmann 1951, pp. 12–19.



Figure 11.5. Veiled head from a marble statuette, found in the area of the Hall of Choral Dancers; H. 6 cm. Inv. 49.247, front. Photo Sheila Dillon.



Figure 11.6. Veiled head from a marble statuette. Inv. 49.247, right side. Photo Sheila Dillon.

the hair over the forehead was visible in front of the front edge of the veil, which was draped over the back of the head and fell loosely on either side of the face. Good parallels for the overall appearance of the statuette to which this head once belonged can be found in the terracotta “Tanagra” figurines: for example, one from Tanagra now in the British Museum and another from Myrina now in the Louvre.¹¹ Veiled female votaries, both life size and smaller, are well known from the sanctuaries of Cyprus.¹²

The third head, which is around the same size as the little veiled head, is much better preserved (Fig. 11.7).¹³ It was found in 1951 in the fill above the floor of the Hall of Votive Gifts, where it may originally have been displayed. Carved perhaps from Pentelic marble, the preserved height of the head is 6.5 cm, so it once belonged to a substantial statuette of about a half meter in height. Although the back of the head and neck is missing, there is a chip in the right side of the chin, and much of the original surface is quite worn, it is clear from the delicately articulated facial features that the head was originally

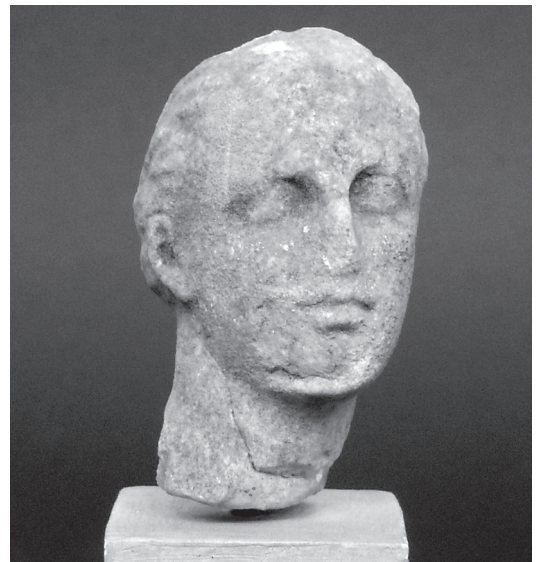


Figure 11.7. Head of Pentelic marble from a statuette, found in the area of the Hall of Votive Gifts; H. 6.5 cm. Inv. 51.273. Photo Sheila Dillon.

¹¹ London, British Museum inv. no. 2081. H. 27 cm. Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 55, pl. 15. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. Myr. 230. H. 28 cm. *Tanagra*, p. 252, no. 190.

¹² Connelly 1988.

¹³ Samothrace inv. no. 51.273. Pres. H. 6.5 cm; W. 4 cm; D. 3 cm. Found on June 29, 1951. The head was first published in Lehmann 1953, p. 9, pl. 3b; see also *Samothrace* 4,I, p. 174, no. 131.

very finely carved. One can easily make out the large almond-shaped, deeply set eyes, the long nose with a distinct break at the root in profile view, and a small mouth with a bow-shaped upper lip. Both upper and lower eyelids are clearly and carefully defined. The face has lean and youthful proportions. The triangular-shaped forehead is high and smooth, and the hair is drawn back into waved sections, with the ears uncovered. There is a shallow depression visible in the hair just in front of the break at the crown. The delicately shaped face, perched on top of a long, slender neck, turns gracefully to the right and is tilted up. The neck is marked with a single shallow “Venus” ring.

The arrangement of the hair in sections (the so-called *Melonenfrisur*) is similar to the hairstyle of both Arsinoe II and Berenike II in their coin portraits.¹⁴ Indeed, it has been suggested that the shallow groove in the hair was made to accommodate a diadem, and therefore that the head represented a Hellenistic queen.¹⁵ The overly large eyes are certainly characteristic of some Ptolemaic queens, and there are some similarities in the appearance of this head – the shape of the face, the distinct break at the root of the nose – and the portrait of Queen Arsinoe III in Boston, although the hairstyle of this Ptolemaic queen is differently arranged.¹⁶ While it is possible that the head represents one of the Ptolemaic queens, the groove may have been meant to accommodate a separately attached metal fillet or crown rather than a royal diadem; such thin fillets are commonly worn, for example, by women on grave reliefs, and are also found on many female terracotta figurines. It is not, therefore, an exclusively royal symbol. Good parallels can also be found for the hairstyle among terracotta Tanagra figurines; two lovely examples from Tanagra¹⁷ of the later 4th–3rd century wear the hair brushed back in sectioned waves – one has the hair gathered in a loose bun at the nape, the other wears it gathered in a large knot at the crown. A third figurine, this one from Myrina and dated to the 3rd century, also wears the hair arranged in waved sections and pulled back into a high bun; like the Samothrace head, the terracotta figurine also wears a fillet and has fine youthful features.¹⁸ The body and pose of the terracotta statuette from Myrina, with a long mantle worn wrapped tightly around the body, completely covering the chest and both hands, and a long full chiton beneath, is a standard statuette type, and provides one possible option for the draped body to which our marble head once belonged. A careful study of the marble and terracotta figurine fragments found in the excavation may help to show the range of draped body types commonly used for female votive statuettes in Samothrace.

Each of the three heads discussed above presents a somewhat different option for the representation of women in the Hellenistic period: a rounder, more mature face that seems to follow closely the representation of Ptolemaic queens; a veiled, probably idealized image that is a common choice particularly for women on late Classical grave and votive reliefs; and a more obviously youthful presentation with artfully arranged hair, which may owe something to royal portraiture, but which also has close parallels with terracotta Tanagra figurines. These heads probably represent votaries rather than goddesses, but it is impossible to be certain without additional evidence, such as the type and dress of the bodies to which these heads belonged. Certainly the two heads whose faces are well enough preserved to tell exhibit distinct portrait-like features. Distinguishing mortal from divine – particularly for female figures – is, however, notoriously difficult, as there was a great deal of overlap in the representation of goddesses and women in the types of costumes they wore, in their physiognomy, and in their hairstyles.¹⁹

Finally, there is the beautifully carved fragment of the lower part of a large marble statuette, preserved from the thighs to the feet, found in the area between the so-called Hieron and the Hall of Choral Dancers (Figs 11.8–11.9).²⁰ The piece is heavily draped in chiton and mantle and, like the two small heads discussed above, it may have once belonged to a statuette that was about 50 cm tall. The figure stands with the weight on the left leg, the right bent at the knee, with the right foot trailing off to the side. The lower edge of the mantle, which curves down from left to right, reaches well below the knees. The heavy chiton worn underneath it

¹⁴ Stanwick 2002, p. 55, figs 215, 217; Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 89–90, pls 70 and 82.

¹⁵ *Samothrace* 4.1, p. 131; Lehmann suggests Arsinoe III.

¹⁶ Smith 1988, pp. 91–92, 165, cat. no. 49, pl. 35.4–6; Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 181–182, no. L1, pl. 89.

¹⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. nos. MNB 565 and MNB 492: *Tanagra*, pp. 210–211, cat. nos. 145–146.

¹⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. Myr 243: *Tanagra*, p. 253, cat. no. 192.

¹⁹ I deal with the issue of female portrait representation in Dillon 2010. For a preliminary report of this work, see Dillon 2007. The shared iconography of mortal women as priestesses and goddesses is discussed by Connelly 2007, pp. 104–115.

²⁰ Samothrace inv. no. 54.173. Pres. H. 13.5 cm; max. W. (at knees) 9 cm; D. 6 cm. On display in the Samothrace Museum, Hall B, Case 2, shelf 4.



Figure 11.8. Lower part of a large marble draped statuette, found in the area between the so-called Hieron and the Hall of Choral Dancers; H. 13.5 cm. Inv. 54.173, front. Photo Sheila Dillon.

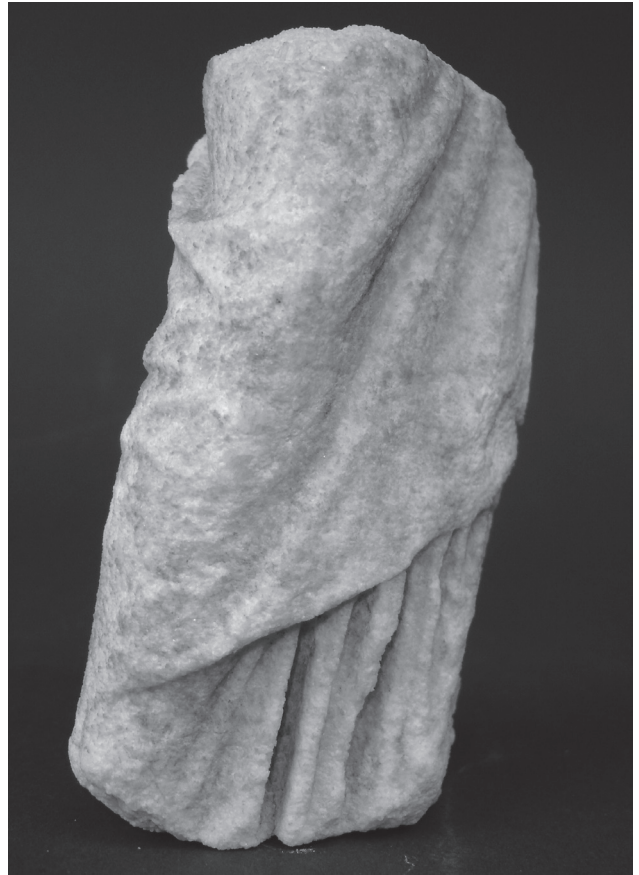


Figure 11.9. Lower part of a large marble draped statuette. Inv. 54.173, right side. Photo Sheila Dillon.

falls in thick parallel folds around the lower legs; the folds, particularly between the legs, were deeply drilled. The back of the figure is much less finished, with the edges and folds of the draped garments only lightly sketched out. Despite its small scale, this fragment has a distinctly monumental feel about it. The care with which the deep folds of the dress were made, and the beautiful way in which the mantle's curving folds model the rounded forms of the body beneath, are reminiscent of some of the finest monumental statues of draped women from the Hellenistic period.²¹ The bottom surface of the statuette is smoothly finished, and there is a single small dowel hole in the center; the statuette was therefore fixed with a metal dowel perhaps onto a freestanding pedestal for display.

While the material presented here is very fragmentary, we can still get a good idea of what these heads and statuette bodies may have looked like as complete votive monuments set up in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods if we consider the much better preserved group of seven marble votive statuettes from the sanctuary of Demeter near Kyparissi on the island of Kos.²² This group, mostly late Classical and Hellenistic in date, represents a range of divine figures – Demeter, Kore, Hades – as well as figures who may be votaries of these gods. The statuettes range in height from just under a half meter to just over a meter; they are therefore similar in scale to the Samothrace material. The bases on which they were set are also preserved, and vary in height from 7 to 67 cm; most of the bases have dedicatory inscriptions. They apparently stood inside a small, poorly built structure that was set in a temenos. The statuettes were arranged against the back wall of this modest structure, facing the door and an altar located just outside. Two of the votive statuettes may represent votaries rather than goddesses, and provide good comparative material for the Samothrace heads. The first is

²¹ For example, compare the fragment to the statues of the “Pudicitia” format illustrated in Eule 2001, figs 1–18.

²² This assemblage was found in 1929, but was not fully published until 1975 by R. Kabus-Preissshofen. See also Ridgway 1990, pp. 214–215.

the statuette dedicated to Kore by Leirio as priestess.²³ The very unusual hairstyle and the round full portrait-like face suggest that perhaps Leirio herself is represented in her role as priestess. While the draped body type is typically associated with Kore, this costume is also frequently worn by mortal women.²⁴ The votive inscription on the statuette's base does not help to identify the subject, since it uses the old-fashioned votive formula that leaves out the statue's identity, but simply gives the names of the dedicator and the goddess to whom the dedication is made.²⁵ While smaller than the head from the area of the Arsinoeion, the head of Leirio's statuette is remarkably similar in appearance. Dressed in similar costume, but more traditionally ideal in facial structure is the larger statuette said to represent Kore.²⁶ This beautifully delicate votive statuette stands on a tall uninscribed base; both forearms are held away from the body, and the remains of two torches are visible in the right hand. While the inclusion of torches might suggest that it is Kore who is represented, images of priestesses on Hellenistic grave reliefs are also shown with this attribute.²⁷ The lovely oval shaped face, the large eyes, the full lips, the straight nose, the graceful triangular forehead, and the centrally parted hair provide good parallels for reconstructing the appearance of our little veiled head.

While the Kos statuettes were set up inside a small structure, votive statuettes in bronze, marble, and terracotta might also be displayed outside of buildings. Other than the head from the Hall of Votive Gifts, none of the Samothrace votives seems to have been found in its original display context; they might have been set up either inside the sacred structures or outside, in the temenos. The poorly preserved surfaces may point to display outside. We should probably imagine that the votive statuettes would have stood on top of stone bases. In fact, three bases suitable for small-scale votive statuettes have been found during excavations of the Western Hill.²⁸ While all three examples are fragmentary, they share a number of features: they are quadrilateral in shape, between 5 and 10 cm high, and have a shallow rounded depression or socket at the center of the upper surface into which the statuette would have been set. Two of the bases have the remains of inscriptions along the front face. While none of these bases can be associated with the remains of the statuettes presented here, they provide us with a very good idea of what such bases would have looked like.

Small-scale votives in bronze, marble and terracotta were dedicated in large numbers in Greek sanctuaries. They provide evidence of ritual action, a material reminder of a pious act made permanent in the hopes of attracting continued favorable divine attention. While sacrificial animals and anonymous votaries are the most common types of figural votives from the Geometric to the Classical period,²⁹ beginning in the 4th century we also get votive portraits, statues of particular human beings dedicated in honor of the gods. For women, the earliest votive portraits seem to represent priestesses;³⁰ by the later 4th century, women who are not priestesses might also be honored with a votive portrait. While life size votive portraits are better known and better studied, small scale votive portrait statues are also attested. Perhaps the most famous of these is also one of the earliest preserved: the statue of Lysimache from the Athenian Acropolis, which was three-quarter life size.³¹ Much later in date is the one-third life size marble statue of a female votary from Arsos on Cyprus.³² The marble votive sculpture from Samothrace presented here provides additional evidence for the small scale representation of female votaries; it is hoped that a more thorough study of the remains of terracotta and marble votives from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods will give us a fuller picture of the range of dedications made in this famous sanctuary.

²³ Kabus-Preisshofen 1975, statuette E, pp. 50–52, pls 22–24, figs 4; 9; Ridgway 1990, p. 214.

²⁴ E.g., the statue of Nikeso from Priene (Connelly 2007, pp. 137–139, fig. 5.12) and a woman on a relief from the grave monument of Hierokles at Rhamnous (Kaltsas 2002, p. 226, no. 475).

²⁵ On the language of dedicatory inscriptions, see Ma 2007; Keesling 2003, pp. 22–35 and 165–198; Dillon 2010, pp. 11–13.

²⁶ Kabus-Preisshofen 1975, statuette C, pp. 43–46, pls 16–18, fig. 5.

²⁷ Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 136–138, nos. 405–410, pls 66–67.

²⁸ Inv. nos. 68.663; 70.348 and 70.456. The latter two were published in a preliminary report: McCredie 1979, p. 26, pls 12.d–e.

²⁹ For a recent overview of individual dedications, see Pedley 2005, pp. 100–118.

³⁰ Connelly 2007 is an important new study of priestesses; see also Kron 1996.

³¹ Connelly 2007, pp. 130–131, figs 5.9–5.10.

³² Connelly 2007, p. 94, figs 4.5–4.6, pls 14–15.

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12. A Marble Krater from Samothrace

Jasper Gaunt

On Monday, 5 July 1965, a marble sherd came to light in an unstratified context near the Propylon of Ptolemy II (here p. 7, Fig. 3.3, no. 26) in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. The entry for the diary described it as follows: “marble basin rim fragment, preserving a portion of the lip with offset molding, part of feathers or leaves carved on underside” (Figs 12.1–12.2).¹ Two elements are preserved: a rounded rim tops a convex section that is decorated outside with a laurel wreath running to left. A shallow groove, inside and out, distinguishes the two parts. The stone, as usual for Samothrace, has been ravaged by time, but the surface was originally worked both outside and inside to the same polished degree.

Lustral basins of various kinds are familiar in archaic and classical Greece, both as dedications in sanctuaries and in domestic contexts. They were referred to as rhanteria, perirrhanteria, chernitheia, and louteria, all of which needed stands, and podanipteres, which did not.² Some of the stands, like the perirrhanteria from Samos and Isthmia, were extremely elaborate and equipped with sculpture.³ Others, if more modest, were plentiful. Raubitschek lists more than fifty marble examples from the Athenian Acropolis alone,⁴ while Iozzo’s discussion of a derivative terracotta series from Corinth lists as many as 135.⁵ Some basins were rectangular, and had profiled moldings.⁶ The great majority, however, were circular. Over time, the series remains remarkably homogeneous. A wide, shallow bowl curves sharply at the edge and the straight wall rises to a wide, flat top, which is sometimes inscribed. The outside and top are polished, but the inside is left rough. Beyond their specific ritual functions, the basins seem to have occupied a special place in the minds of the ancients. They could, for instance, articulate definitions of space, as when Aischines noted that those who dodged military service, were cowardly or deserted their fellow soldiers, were prohibited by law to enter the Agora beyond the perirrhanteria.⁷

That a marble basin might have been dedicated in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace is inherently likely. At Olynthos, Robinson and Graham commented that “one of the most common articles of furniture in the Olynthian house, to judge from the numerous specimens found, was the marble or terracotta wash-basin consisting of a broad shallow bowl set on a single pedestal of the same material.”⁸ Farther afield even than Samothrace, an ambitious tripod basin in limestone, as well as a number of plain basins, were dedicated in the archaic sanctuary of Aphrodite at Histria,⁹ while a massive limestone louterion from Greece was imported to Chersonnesos.¹⁰

The sherd from Samothrace differs, however, from the basins in three respects. On the marble series and their ceramic imitations, the rim is broad and flat, not rounded. While floral decoration below the rim of a basin does occur, for instance on a ceramic fragment from the Athenian Agora, this is rather unusual.¹¹

¹ Samothrace 65.195. Diary, p. 73. Preserved height: 3.63 cm. Preserved length: 7.83 cm. Estimated diameter of rim: 38.4 cm.

² On basins recently, see *Alt-Aegina* II.4, pp. 59–132; Arapojanni 1996; Pimpl 1997. On the social context, see Ginouvès 1962; Durand and Lissarague 1980; Pfisterer-Haas, 2002. On foot-basins, see Milne 1944; Gauer 1991, pp. 70–81. On Roman basins, see Ambrogi 1995, 2005.

³ *Isthmia* IV, pp. 14–61.

⁴ Raubitschek 1949, pp. 370–413. Others from Athens: Thompson 1940, p. 143; Moysey 1989.

⁵ Iozzo 1987.

⁶ *Délos* XVIII, pp. 73–81, esp. p. 79, fig. 113.

⁷ Aeschines 3.176. Basins are sometimes also invoked in oaths: Markiewicz 2000.

⁸ *Olynthos* VIII, p. 317.

⁹ Zimmermann and Alexandrescu 1980, pp. 267–282.

¹⁰ Stolba 2002, p. 232 H 17, pl. 174.

¹¹ Agora P 24203: *Agora* XII, p. 368, no. 1874, pl. 89.

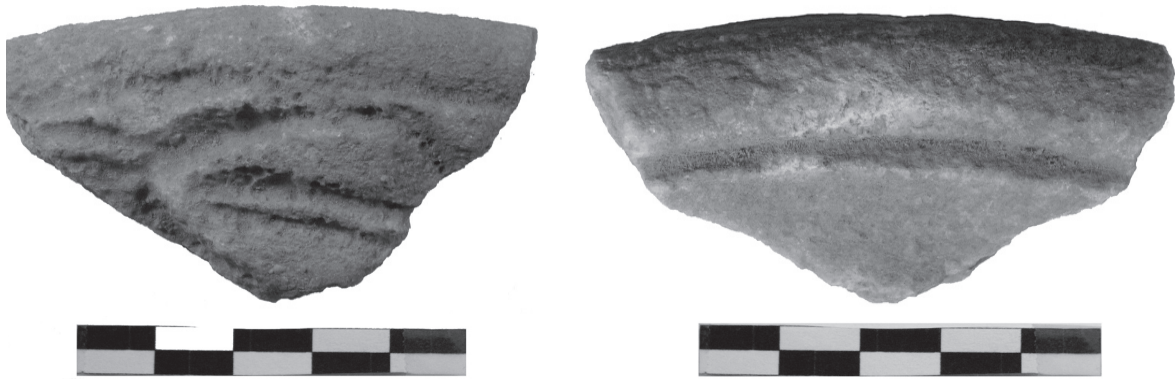


Figure 12.1a and b. Samothrace 60.195. Photos Bonna Wescoat.

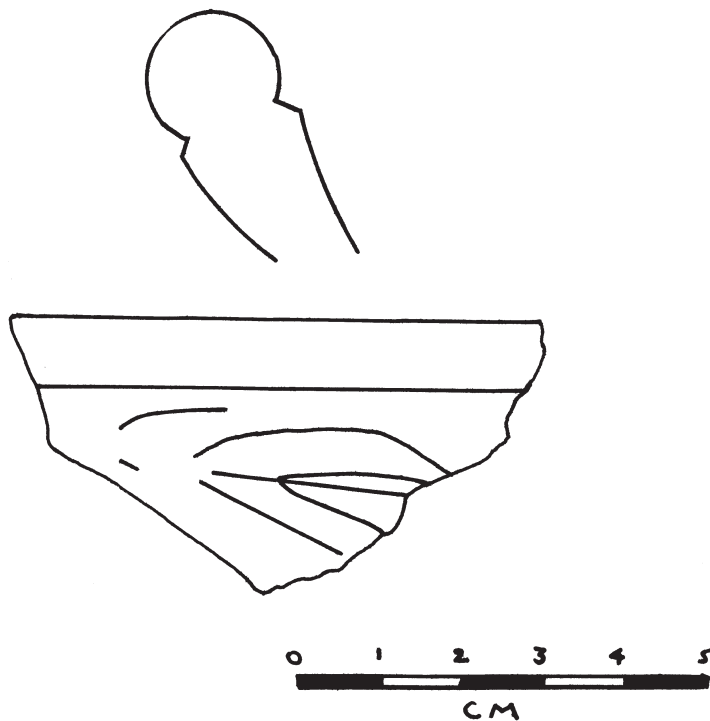


Figure 12.2. Profile drawing of Samothrace 60.195. Drawing N. West.

Finally, the sherd from Samothrace is polished inside and out, whereas the basins are left rough inside. That the sherd could come from a shield seems unlikely because their rims are echinus in section, as is shown by monuments such as the grave stelai of Chairedemos and Lykeas, the Dexileos monument or the frieze from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.¹²

On the other hand, both profile and decoration of the Samothrace fragment match almost perfectly the everted rims of fourth century ceramic bell- and calyx-kraters. Whether Attic or South Italian, these vases are routinely given a rounded lip that is slightly offset from the neck, on which a laurel wreath usually appears.¹³

This identification at once calls to mind the famous neo-Attic marble kraters, which were clearly inspired by late classical bronze prototypes.¹⁴ Their findspots indicate that they were created largely to supply a

¹² Conveniently, Lullies and Hirmer 1957, pls 182, 191, 201–204.

¹³ For the profile and decoration of calyx- and bell-kraters conveniently, see *Agora XXX*, pp. 26–34; McPhee 1997.

¹⁴ On these, see Grassinger 1991, with the review by Cohon 1993. On other Roman marble vessels, see Guldager Bilde 1997;

demand for decorative sculpture in grand villas, particularly in Rome and Southern Italy: the ship that sank off Mahdia was carrying at least six.¹⁵ Just a few, however, did remain in Greece. Dörpfeld found one in the so-called sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos on the West Slope of the Acropolis in 1874.¹⁶ Walston purchased a scrap of another in 1893 “from an Argive workman” (presumably engaged on the Heraion) with the head of a maenad, her hair blown back (Fig. 12.3).¹⁷ Others seem not to come from sanctuaries: a fragment of one was recovered in Athens, Odos Veikou in 1926,¹⁸ while another came to light at Rethymnon in 1948.¹⁹ The scale of the Samothrace fragment, however, is much smaller than that of the neo-Attic series. It also differs in the treatment of the rim, which does not overhang and is not decorated with ovolo.

A late classical or Hellenistic date for the Samothrace sherd may be suggested, however, for a number of marble vessels have come to light in contemporary Macedonian contexts.²⁰ The series separates naturally into small, exotic vessels for use by the living, and larger grave markers intended for the dead. Of the former group, the earliest may be the pyxis with horizontal ribbing from Olynthos,²¹ for which a 5th-century date and an Athenian workshop have been recently proposed.²² Half a century later come three marble vessels, two lekythoi and an exaleiptron, placed in the grave of an eminent lady at the court of Aigai.²³ These had been buried together with nine Attic white-ground lekythoi by the Woman Painter, which help to date the tomb around 430–420 B.C. Together with these should go a lamp made in the form of a shell, also found at Aigai.²⁴

Kottaridi rightly inferred that the marble lekythoi should be of Athenian manufacture.²⁵ To her arguments, another consideration may be added. The manner in which the marble lekythoi from Aigai are pieced together resembles that of other vessels which have been found at Athens. These include a globular ash-urn, found on the Sacred Way at Aigaleos whose body is made in two parts, top and bottom.²⁶ Also made in two parts is a pear-shaped vase, a perirrhanterion, now in Dresden, which was acquired in Athens in 1898.²⁷ The shape is familiar in 4th-century metalwork, some of it recovered in Macedonian contexts, such as a silver example from Potidaia and a bronze one from tomb A at Derveni.²⁸ A third is the beautiful late 4th-century oinochoe in New York (Fig. 12.4).²⁹ The shape of this is most familiar from bronze examples found in Macedonia,



Figure 12.3. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2006.40.1. Photo courtesy Carlos Museum.

Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, pp. 41–45.

¹⁵ Grassinger 1991, pp. 213–215, nos. 53–57; Grassinger 1994.

¹⁶ Schrader 1896, p. 223; now Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Studienslg. Inv. 2000; Grassinger 1991, p. 167, no. 10.

¹⁷ Now Emory University, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2006.40.1. Christie's, London, *Antiquities Catalogue* 26 April 2006, lot 38.

¹⁸ Grassinger 1991, p. 157, no. 3. A third neo-Attic krater from Athens is the so-called Finlay vase, Athens, National Museum 127; Grassinger 1991, pp. 156–157, no. 2.

¹⁹ Theophanidou 1949, pp. 6–7; Grassinger 1991, pp. 186–187, no. 28.

²⁰ On small marble vessels in general, see Scheurleer 1926; Caskey 1939; Weinberg 1959; Zaphiropoulou 1973; Gaunt forthcoming.

²¹ Olynthos, Archaeological Museum 926. Robinson 1935, p. 228; *Olynthus* XI, pp. 75–77 (the mass grave); *Olynthus* XIII, pp. 387–388, pl. 238; Talcott 1951, p. 431.

²² Gaunt forthcoming.

²³ Kottaridi 2004, pp. 110–111.

²⁴ Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, p. 236. For the series of marble lamps, see Zervoudaki 2001. For the suggestion that these should have been created in the same workshops as marble pyxides, see Picón 1995, p. 10.

²⁵ Kottaridi 2004, pp. 110–11.

²⁶ For the urn from Aigaleos, see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 36 pl. 13g.

²⁷ Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulptursammlung inv. ZV 1427; Herrmann 1898, p. 130, no. 2.

²⁸ *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia*, p. 61, no. 169, pl. 33; and p. 84, no. 347, pl. 49. For a list of other examples, see von Bothmer 1983, p. 9.

²⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.228; Richter 1926; Richter 1953, p. 109, pl. 247h.



Figure 12.4 (*left*). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.228. Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 12.5 (*below*). Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2005.27.2. Photo courtesy Carlos Museum.



and may very well have been originally intended either for export or for use by a Macedonian in Athens.³⁰ Macedonian in shape, though of unknown findspot, is a marble calyx-cup in Atlanta (Fig. 12.5).³¹ Though made in a single piece, in character it goes with the series under discussion and may therefore have been created in Athens. Taken together, this series of delicate marble vessels seems to represent an exotic, luxurious partner for a family of Attic black-glaze vessels that were given a coating of silver or gold leaf in and around Macedonia.³²

Very different from these are larger marble vessels of funerary character found at Pydna and Aigai. From Pydna comes a marble volute-krater,³³ the profile of the body reproducing the early classical model of type A.³⁴ The body is fluted, the flutes rendered as large tongues that rise from the base. The handles are given only in silhouette. In some ways the krater most closely recalls a small Attic black-glaze krateriskos with stand from Spina.³⁵ Of two marble hydriai from Aigai, one is plain and has a simple ivy leaf extension below the vertical handle. The other, more elaborate, has a horizontal band of guilloche between the lateral handles, which are sharply upturned. The body below this is gadrooned, and the vessel is equipped with a tall fluted stand, the two elements carved as one.³⁶ Tantalizing in connection with these is the account of Pausanias, who speaks of a marble hydria containing the bones of Orpheus outside Dion (Paus. 9.30.3). These occasional pieces, like the marble amphorae of Panathenaic shape from Marathon,³⁷ the monumental pyxides from Lefkas,³⁸ and

³⁰ For the shape in Macedonian bronzes, see Barr-Sharrar 2008, pp. 5–6, 16–17. For Macedonians in Athens, see Palagia and Tracy 2003.

³¹ Michael C. Carlos Museum 2005.27.2: Christie's, New York, 8 June 2005, lot 97. This was sold together with a fish-plate (Carlos Museum 2005.27.1), with which it may originally have been found. Another marble fish-plate is New York 1984.11.6.

³² Drougou 2000; Williams 2003.

³³ Pandermalis 1997, p. 94.

³⁴ On these, see Barr-Sharrar 2000.

³⁵ Ferrara 5024: Barr-Sharrar 2008, p. 95, fig. 84.

³⁶ On these, see Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, pp. 306–307.

³⁷ Petrakos 1996, pp. 160–163, figs 94–95; Valavanis 2000.

³⁸ Andreou 1978.

the Attic griffin cauldrons,³⁹ are variations on the widespread, familiar funerary loutrophoroi and lekythoi.⁴⁰ Since so many of these appear Attic in origin, it may be that some of the others were also.

The krater dedicated in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace is likely to have resembled in character if not in shape or even function the marble vessels from Pydna and Aigai. Collectively, their primary significance is the tradition they represent of carving marble vessels that, several generations later, would blossom in workshops – still based in and around Athens – that created the kraters we term neo-Attic.

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³⁹ Von Mercklin 1926.

⁴⁰ Lekythoi: Schmaltz 1970; Prukakis-Christodulopulos 1970. Loutrophoroi: Kokula 1964; Lembesi 2003.

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13. L. Calpurnius Piso: Greece and Herculaneum

Carol C. Mattusch

The archaeological record suggests that Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (d. 42 B.C.) was a devoted Philhellene, but Cicero wrote that he was a liar and a thief. The route to assessing whether artifact and text can be reconciled passes through Samothrace and Athens.

Piso's family came from Campania, and his daughter Calpurnia became Julius Caesar's third wife in 59 B.C. In 58, Piso served as consul from Campania. In 57, Piso was given the proconsulship in Macedonia, and for two years he ruled not only Macedonia but also the entire Roman province of Achaia, where he traveled widely. But then he was involuntarily retired from that post.

In 58, Piso had helped the tribune Publius Clodius Pulcher secure Cicero's banishment from Rome. In the following year, Cicero was recalled from exile, which he had spent in Macedonia. He hated Piso, and he did not hesitate to air his intense dislike in a speech before the senate in 55 B.C., the year in which Piso was recalled from Macedonia.

Cicero lambasts Piso with demonic pleasure, calling him the "vulture" of Macedonia.¹ "...Every wriggle of your body, every print upon your every resting-place, has been for me a clue that I have followed to the death" (*Pis.* 83). Piso left "Achaia drained, Thessaly harried, Athens mutilated, Dyrrachium and Apollonia desolated, Ambracia looted, the Parthini and the people of Bulis mocked, Epirus wasted, Locris, Phocis, and Boeotia gutted, Acarnania, Amphilocheia, Perrhaebia, and the Athamanes sold, Macedonia made a free gift to the barbarians, Aetolia lost, the Dolopes and the mountaineers upon their borders driven from their towns and fields, and Roman citizens who have commercial dealings in those countries – all these felt that it was as an arch-peculator of themselves and their allies, an arch-plunderer, an arch-robber, and an arch-foe that you came into their midst" (*Pis.* 96).

And then, according to Cicero, Piso snuck out of Dyrrachion during the night in his slippers to avoid having to pay back wages to the army that he had disbanded. The army subsequently destroyed the public statue of their former leader (*Pis.* 93). Cicero's invective aside, Piso obviously traveled a good deal in Greece. He had also felt firmly enough entrenched for this statue of himself to have been erected in one of the cities under his dominion. Piso apparently regarded his province with such affection that, to judge from information contained in Cicero's accusations: "... scarce able to support your grief and chagrin on your departure from the province, you made your way first to Samothrace and then to Thasos with your effeminate retinue of dancers and with those pretty brothers, Autobulus, Athamas, and Timocles" (*Pis.* 89).

Whatever the Samothracians thought of Piso, they, like the people of Dyrrachion, were willing to memorialize him, and their monument turned out to be a more permanent one. Perhaps on his final visit or on some other trip to Samothrace, some form of monument was erected to Piso. Three pieces of an inscribed Thasian marble base survive, one of which also retains part of a second, later inscription (Fig. 13.1). These fragments were found in three different locations, providing no clues as to where the monument was installed.

Herbert Bloch restored the earlier inscription and dated it to 56/55 B.C., which fits the dates for Piso's service as governor in Macedonia:

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Λεύκιον Καλπὸρνιον]
Λευκίου υἱὸν Πείσωνα
τὸν αὐτοκράτορ[α καὶ πᾶ]τρωνα τῆς πόλεως.²

¹ Cicero, *In Pisonem*. Loeb Classical Library, trans. N. H. Watts, [1931], repr. Cambridge, Mass., 1992.

² Bloch 1940, pp. 485–487.

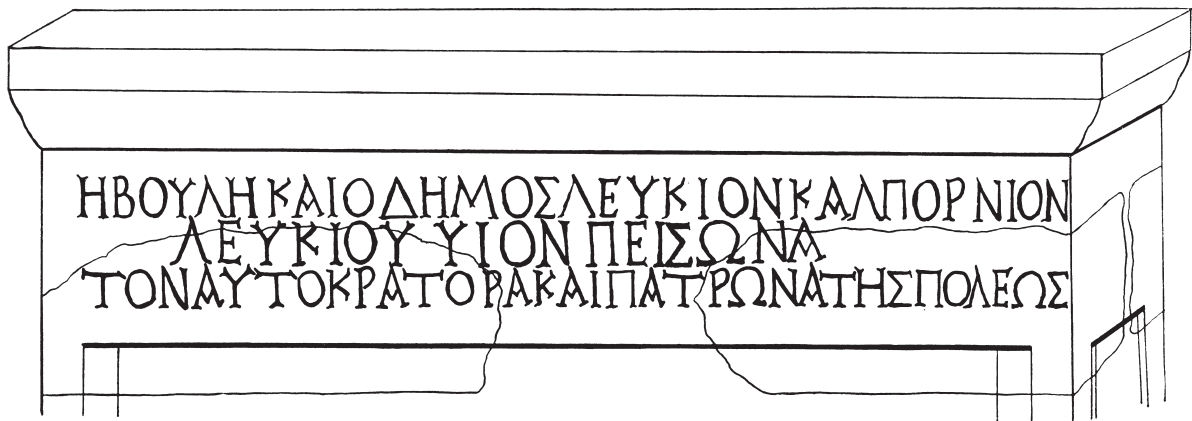


Figure 13.1. Reconstruction of the top of the Piso base. After Bloch 1940, fig. 2.

(“The council and the people to Lucius Calpurnius Piso,
son of Lucius, governor and patron of the city.”)

His being named a patron of the city, as well as his having visited Samothrace with attendants, must indicate that Piso was initiated into the mysteries.³

Piso was certainly not happy to have been recalled from his post in Greece, and Cicero takes the opportunity to belittle him for returning to Rome without a triumph, that is, for not behaving as an Imperator should (*Pis.* 38). Furthermore, Cicero claims that Piso is hated by the Senate, by the *equites*, and by the people of Italy (*Pis.* 64). He is known for making “bargains with defendants, ... (the) selling of justice, ... savage condemnations and ... capricious acquittals” (*Pis.* 87). “All Italy execrates you...” (*Pis.* 65).

Like many Romans, Piso was a collector while he was in Greece, which gave Cicero the opportunity to accuse him of “... not (having) left in any public or consecrated place a single statue or picture or ornament,”⁴ except, of course, for the statue of himself in Dyrrakhion. Cicero distinctly implies that Piso plundered Greek works, seeing no parallel, of course, between Piso’s methods of collecting art and his own. In fact, Cicero himself furnished his homes with sculptures and other décor, including entire libraries, which he purchased through a dealer in Greece, and these were all shipped to him from Greece in 68/67 B.C.⁵ The fact that Cicero paid his dealer for acquisitions that the dealer ferreted out seems to have absolved him, in his own mind, of any responsibility for the removal of objects from their country of origin.⁶

Cicero derides Piso’s home-life, which it is unlikely that he had witnessed first-hand. “You will find in Piso no good taste, no refinement, no elegance...the table piled not with shellfish or fish, but with huge joints of tainted meat; slatternly slaves do the waiting, some even old men; cook and hall-porter are one; neither breadmaker nor wine-cellar on the premises; ...Greeks packed five or more to a couch, himself alone on one; toping until the wine is poured straight out of the jar.” (*Pis.* 67) But perhaps the presence of Greek guests suggests that Piso aspired to refinement. Piso is also said to have supported a highly respected Greek poet (*Pis.* 68, 70), Philodemos of Gadara (ca. 110–40 B.C.). Philodemos attended the parties of his patron, and on one occasion he made a point of mentioning that he was tempted to reciprocate:

“Greetings, Piso, my dearest friend:
Your humble comrade, friend of the Muse,
Invites you to dinner and hopes you’ll attend;
Epicurus’ birthday is sure to amuse.
You’ll find no feast in my simple abode,

³ Bloch 1940, pp. 489–490. The later inscription on this base refers to [- - - θεῶν] μεγάλων (statue of the priest of the Great Gods).

⁴ Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 94, trans. R. Gardner [1958], repr. Cambridge, Mass., 1984; reiterated in *De Provinciis Consularibus* 7.

⁵ See Cicero, *Att.*, and *Fam.*

⁶ See Miles 2008.

But fellowship true and sweet verse in good measure.
 If you come, we might even sing you an ode;
 Your presence, Piso, would be a great pleasure.”⁷

An enormous waterfront villa, once called the Villa dei Pisoni but now known as the Villa dei Papiri, and lying just to the west of Herculaneum is likely to have been one of the homes in which Piso lived so extravagantly between his return from Greece in 55 and his death in 42 B.C. It was a two-to-three-storey building, of which the atrium, a few public rooms, a cubiculum on a lower floor, a library, part of a bath, and parts of a vast walled garden have so far been investigated. These sections alone measure some 20,000 square meters, or about 65,000 square feet. Some of the contents of the villa surely date from its early phase during Piso’s later years. Ironically, the collections therein are a mirror of Cicero’s own tastes, providing concrete evidence for a love of Greek literature and of Greek sculpture, some of the latter invoking historic Macedonia. So far there is no evidence for any of the villa’s contents having been taken from Greece, but the Greek library has been found, most of the sculptures represent Greek subjects, and a number of the sculptures are carved in imported Greek marble, all of which indicate strong philhellenism on the part of the homeowner.

More than one thousand book-rolls found in the villa’s Greek library form a cohesive collection that focuses upon Epicurean philosophy, particularly the works of Philodemus. There are prose-works on music, on the humanities, ethics, theology, and logic, some of them preserved in more than one copy. Since we know from Cicero, as well as from Philodemus himself, that Philodemus was a regular guest in the house of Piso, the texts from the villa strengthen the idea that this villa belonged to Piso.⁸ The fact that the manuscripts of Philodemus’s works remained in this villa until more than a hundred years after his and Piso’s deaths may indicate that Piso’s family retained ownership of the villa throughout those years.⁹

So far, more than ninety sculptures have been found that were displayed in the villa’s public areas at the time of its destruction in 79 A.D., and they reflect the tastes of a Philhellene who had ties with Macedonia. The styles that are represented include archaistic, classical, Hellenistic, Republican, and Julio-Claudian. There are various sizes of bronze and marble herms, busts, and statues, including images of athletes, reproductions of famous works, rustic figures, portraits of historical Greeks and contemporary Romans, and two images of Athena. The works are uneven in quality, and there are two or even three images of certain individuals, as, for example, Epikouros (Naples, National Archaeological Museum¹⁰ 5465, NM 5470, NM 11017) and Demosthenes (NM 5467, NM 5469).

Perhaps Piso and his descendants were among those Roman home-owners that Juvenal characterized as “...unlearned persons...their houses crammed with plaster casts of Chrysippus; for their greatest hero is the man who has bought a likeness of Aristotle or Pittacus, or bids his shelves preserve an original portrait of Cleanthes.”¹¹ But so far there are no plaster casts from this villa, and no portraits of Chrysippos or of Aristotle, nor, for that matter, of such frequently represented individuals as Perikles, Pindar, Herodotos, Euripides, Homer, Menander, or Alexander the Great. Instead, the marbles and bronzes are portraits of individuals who, for the most part, cannot be identified specifically today. The subjects represented seem to focus on Greek military and political leaders and intellectuals.

The villa’s vast walled garden was enclosed by a colonnade of 25×10 stuccoed brick columns. Within the garden, a huge pool, 67 meters in length, was surrounded by seven pairs of marble herm-heads installed back-to-back on plastered brick posts. Twelve of the herms represent Greek men, one is a helmeted Athena, and one is a veiled classical female. Particular connections with Piso can be drawn from the Macedonian Demetrios Poliorketes(?) (NM 6149) (337–283 B.C.) and his adversary Pyrrhos of Epeiros(?) (NM 6150) (319–272 B.C.), as well as from another young Macedonian warrior wearing an oak wreath (NM 6151) who has not been identified. Demetrios Poliorketes(?) was apparently paired with a bearded Greek intellectual (either NM 6152 or NM 6155, each of whom has been identified as Panyassis). Pyrrhos(?) was paired with another bearded Greek intellectual (NM 6147), to date not convincingly identified; and the young Macedonian warrior was possibly paired with a Hellenistic dynast (NM 6158), who has been identified variously as Ptolemy II,

⁷ *Anth.Pal.* 11.44: trans. S. Sider, “Translations from the Greek of Philodemus,” *Classical Outlook* 61 (1984) p. 79.

⁸ See Sider 2005.

⁹ See D’Arms 1970, esp. pp. 173–174.

¹⁰ Hereafter NM.

¹¹ Juvenal 2.1–7, in *Juvenal and Persius*, trans. G. G. Ramsay [1918]; rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

Ptolemy III, Ptolemy VIII, or Antiochos I.¹² It seems likely that Piso himself chose these subjects to install around the pool in his large garden.

The herm-heads appear to be made of Pentelic marble, which was imported routinely to Italy and used for the production of sculpture. Its presence in this villa, therefore, does not suggest either that the herms were made in Greece or that they were stolen from there. This type of herm, a marble head inset into the top of a stuccoed brick post, is characteristically Roman. Furthermore, the herms are so similar in size, style, and details of production, and in their uninspired execution, that it is reasonable to conclude that they were produced locally, their numbers and siting determined when the order for them was placed with a workshop. Only the marble was imported from Athens, although some of the carvers and casters in local shops were Greeks.

Regarding Piso's political life, Cicero says, "You crept into office by mistake, by the recommendation of your dingy family busts, with which you have no resemblance save colour." (*Pis.* 1).¹³ A glance at the bronze portrait-busts from the Villa dei Papiri reveals only three portraits of Romans, all of which are today unidentifiable. Two of them, bearing a strong resemblance to one another in type and in their inferior workmanship (NM 5586 and 5587), are perhaps Tiberian. The third is of exceptionally high quality (NM 5634).¹⁴ With the possible exception of three marble statues that may represent Romans – a beardless man (NM 6210), a draped and veiled standing matron (NM 6240), and a prepubescent boy (NM 6105) – all the other statues and busts from the villa, bronze and marble, represent Greeks.

A bronze herm representing the head of the Doryphoros (NM 4885), which was, of course, first conceived as a whole statue by Polykleitos, is signed by its Athenian maker Apollodoros, who was practicing his craft with obvious pride in southern Italy, where commissions were abundant from the latter part of the second century B.C. right up until the eruption of Vesuvius (Fig. 13.2). Besides the head of the Doryphoros, there are two more Polykleitan heads, both of them representing the same head (NM 6164 – marble, and NM 5610 – bronze). There is also a curious archaistic bust of either Apollo or a kouros (NM 5608) whose irregularly cast lower edge may have been intended to persuade an unwitting buyer that it had been cut from an Archaic statue (Fig. 13.3). Indeed, some modern scholars were once persuaded that this head had been removed from a statue.¹⁵

There are bearded intellectuals and beardless Hellenistic dynasts, not to mention small tabletop busts, some of them duplicates. A bronze head of an old man from the villa (NM 5616) is known from more than forty extant marble examples (Fig. 13.4). Scholars have named him Aesop, Hesiod, Euripides, Aristophanes, Eratosthenes, Piso, Lucretius, Philemon, Seneca, and more recently Pseudo-Seneca, but the truth is that we do not know who this extraordinarily popular individual was.¹⁶ It might even be argued from the arrangement of the comma-like locks of hair over his forehead that he portrays an aged Augustus.

Another provocative find from the villa is a large archaistic marble statue of Athena (H ca. 2 m), wearing a chiton, a short himation, and a helmet, and cloaked in an aegis rimmed with coiling snakes (Fig. 13.5). The two-meter-tall Pentelic-marble¹⁷ statue was set between the columns separating an interior square courtyard from what has been identified as the tablinum of the Villa dei Papiri, according to notes written by Karl Weber, who excavated the statue in 1752.¹⁸ She does not simply recall ancient Achaia, but serves instead as a direct reference to Athens in particular.

Athena is stepping purposefully forwards, ready to hurl a spear. She is not an Athena Promachos, as is often claimed, because that type is a standing figure, and it is not archaistic like this statue. Instead, this statue is much closer to the type of the Panathenaic Athena, as seen both on Panathenaic amphorae and in Athenian statuettes from the Archaic period onwards.¹⁹

It is not surprising that the Panathenaic Athena appears on coins minted by Ptolemy I, Pyrrhos, Demetrios Poliorketes, and Antigonos Gonatas, because all of them had ties at one time or another with Athens. It is

¹² For references, see Mattusch 2005, p. 266.

¹³ Cicero, *Pro Milone*, In *Pisonem*, ..., vol. XIV, Loeb Classical Library, trans. N. H. Watts, [1931], repr. Cambridge, Mass., 1992.

¹⁴ See Mattusch 2005, pp. 270–276; Lahusen and Edilberto 2001, pp. 142–144 (nos 84, 85), and pp. 100–101 (no. 48). Among the identities assigned to NM 5634 are a priest of Isis, Scipio Africanus, and Scipio Aemilianus.

¹⁵ See Wocjik 1986, p. 88; and, for additional references; Ridgway 1967, p. 60. Also Mattusch 2003, pp. 17–29.

¹⁶ Mattusch 2005, pp. 249–253.

¹⁷ Stable isotope ratio analysis was made by the Department of Geology at the University of Georgia.

¹⁸ Comparetti and De Petra [1883] 1972, p. 223 at IV.h.

¹⁹ For further discussion of this statue as a Panathenaic Athena, see Mattusch 2007, pp. 159–164.



Figure 13.2. Bronze herm-head of the Doryphoros by Polykleitos, signed by Apollodoros of Athens. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 4885. Photo author.



Figure 13.3. Archaistic bronze Apollo or kouros, Naples, NM 5608. Photo author.

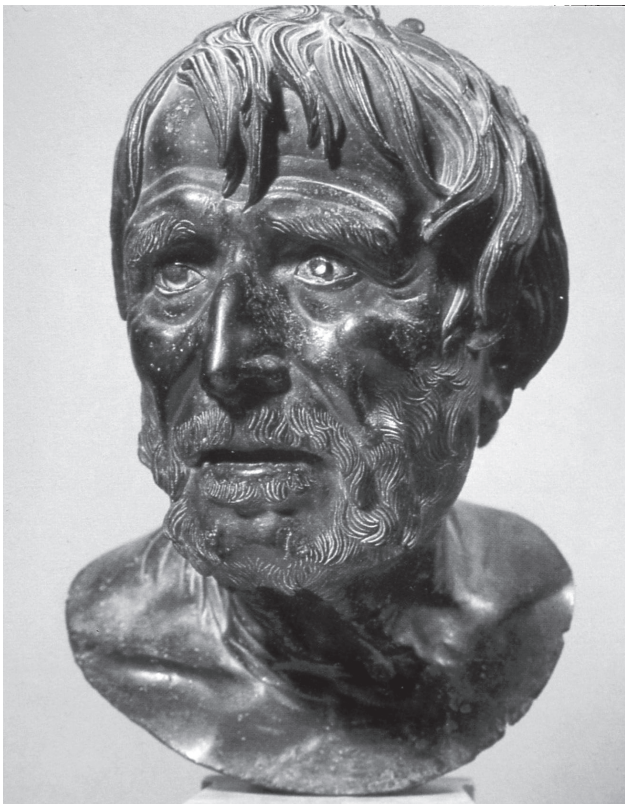


Figure 13.4. Bronze so-called Pseudo-Seneca, Naples, NM 5616. Photo Henry Lie.



Figure 13.5. Marble statue of Panathenaic Athena, Naples, NM 6007. Photo author.

of some interest, however, that portraits of Pyrrhos (NM 6150), Demetrios Poliorketes (NM 6149), and Antigonos Gonatas (NM 5600) have been identified among the sculptures from the Villa dei Papiri. These portraits in particular, along with the young warrior who, like Pyrrhos, wears a Macedonian helmet (NM 6151), provide plausible evidence for identifying the villa-owner as Piso, who lived in Macedonia, as well as his family and descendants.

There is also physical evidence for a direct connection with Athens. A base from the Athenian Akropolis once held a monument honoring Lucius Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (d. 32 A.D.).²⁰ Even more interesting are a few battered fragments of a statue of Athena found on and below the Akropolis: they belonged to a Panathenaic Athena just like the statue from the Villa dei Papiri, produced at the same scale, and also carved of Pentelic marble.

It has been suggested that the pieces from the Akropolis belonged to the “original” Panathenaic statue of Athena, of which the Herculaneum statue is a “copy.”²¹ But how can we be sure that the statue in Athens was the only marble example of this particular Panathenaic Athena? Did Piso see this marble Panathenaic Athena in Athens and order one to take home to Herculaneum with him? Or did Piso commission both of them, giving one statue to Athens and taking the other one home? Was his statue shipped from Athens already completed, or was a cast shipped to Naples, as was the practice with the Pentelic marble from which so many works were carved in Italy?²²

Or did a workshop on the Bay of Naples offer this statue for sale? The shop at Baiae, after all, offered such famous works as the widely popular “Sciarra” Amazon, of which several have been found so far around the Bay of Naples (Fig. 13.6). Shops sold sculptures carved in marble from Carrara, Penteli, and Paros, and one might order from a shop that employed Greek artisans. Indeed, one could order the Doryphoros as a full statue in marble (NM 6412, from Herculaneum), or as a marble or bronze herm-head. The bronze herm-head of the Doryphoros, from the Villa dei Papiri (NM 4885) is signed in large letters on the front by Apollonios, the Athenian.²³

Whose idea was it to produce the long-familiar Panathenaic Athena as a large-scale freestanding marble statue? Perhaps the Piso in question commissioned two identical statues of a Panathenaic Athena when he was in Athens, setting up one of them there and shipping the other one to his villa at Herculaneum. These may have been the only two such statues that were ever carved, but surely others were produced if there were customers to buy them.

Does the marble Panathenaic Athena support the philhellenism of Lucius Calpurnius Piso and his family? If so, it was not quite the kind of philhellenism exhibited by his enemy Cicero, who acquired old libraries and statues in Greece. Piso may have had one or more monuments to himself erected in Greece, but he also supported the economy at Naples by buying for his villa sculptures made locally representing Greek military

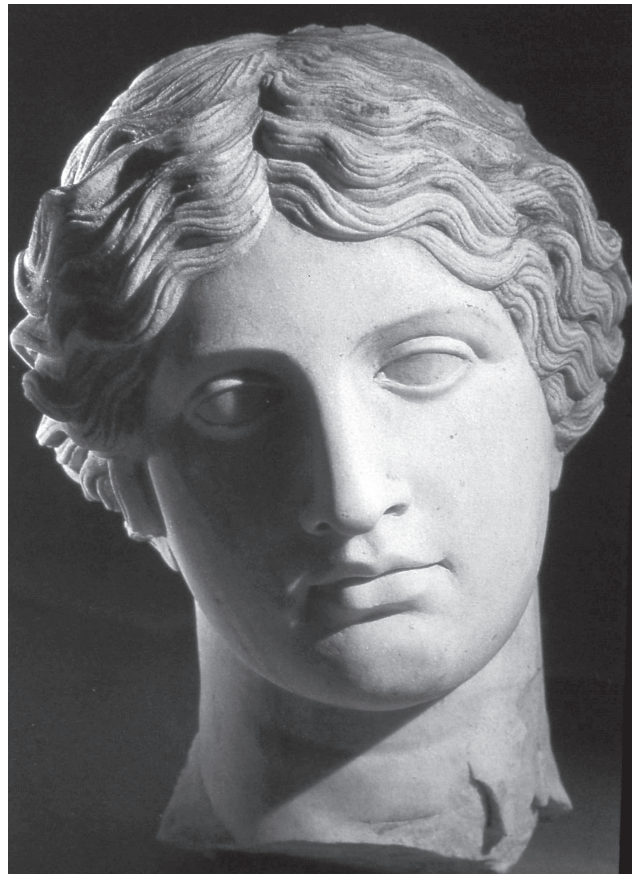


Figure 13.6. Marble head of Sciarra Amazon type, Herculaneum, Antiquarium SAP 80499. Photo courtesy of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

²⁰ See Fullerton 1989, pp. 57–67.

²¹ *Agora* XI, pp. 51, 63, 66, 73–75, no. 124.

²² Plaster casts of a number of popular statue-types, but not of this statue, have been found in a marble workshop at Baiae: see Landwehr 1985.

²³ For discussion and references, see Mattusch 2005, pp. 276–282.

and intellectual leaders. Lucius Calpurnius Piso was initiated at Samothrace, he approved of Epikouros, and he supported the intellectual endeavors of the Epicurean philosopher-poet Philodemos in Campania. Perhaps Cicero was correct that Piso's taste was not cultivated, but the contents of his villa at Herculaneum demonstrate that Piso was, in his own way, dedicated to Greek traditions and proud of his connections to Samothrace and to Athens. His initiation in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace must have held particular significance for him among his Greek experiences, as it did for the many other important Romans of his day who flocked to the sanctuary and took pride in initiation to the Mysteries. After all, Samothrace may well have been the birthplace of Dardanos, founder of Troy and the ancestor of Aeneas.

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14. Maroneia Honors Q. Lutatius Catulus in Samothrace

Kevin Clinton and Nora Dimitrova

A recently discovered statue base in the excavations of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace provides evidence that a prominent Roman, Q. Lutatius Catulus, was honored by the people of Maroneia in a dedication to the Great Gods.

Physical Description

Base of white (Thasian) marble preserved on all visible sides, lying on its (inaccessible) back, built into a wall of a Byzantine structure in the northwestern corner of the Neorion (here p. 7, Fig. 3.3, no. 29), ca. 0.80 m to the right of the Thessalian dedication,¹ its top up against an adjoining foundation block and inaccessible; its bottom is rough-picked (Fig. 14.1). A few of its letters were visible in June, 2001; in the winter of 2003 much of the mortar covering the rest of the inscription was washed away by rain, and in June, 2004 the inscription was cleaned by the Archaeological Service.

H. 0.98 m; W. 0.690 m (base molding), 0.635 m (just above base molding), 0.602 m (at line 5); Th. at least 0.35 m (just above base molding).

H. of letters 0.035 m (line 1), 0.03 m (line 2), 0.02–0.025 m (lines 3–8).

The base molding consists of a plinth surmounted by a roughly executed ovolo that is neither offset nor demarcated from the plinth below; together they are 0.15 m high.

Plinth 0.068 m; rounded molding 0.047 m; projection 0.035 m.

The crown ovolo molding is best preserved along the left side where it measures ca. 0.06 m in height and projects 0.025 m. The top section is flattened, perhaps to indicate a taenia. Across the front, the crown begins some 0.02 m lower on the block, but only the beginning of the profile is preserved.

Text

ca. a. 80 a.?

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μα[ρωνιτῶν]
Κοῖντον Λυτά[τιον]
Κοῖντου υἱὸν Κάτλον
τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην
καὶ σωτήρα τῆς πόλεως
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας
τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν
vacat 1 vs.
Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις

“The *Demos* of Ma[roneia] (dedicated a statue of) Quintus Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, the patron, benefactor, and savior of the city, on account of his virtue and benevolence towards it, to the Great Gods.”

The letters are shallow, but clear, somewhat uneven; with broken-bar alpha consistently employed.

¹ See Pounder and Dimitrova 2003.

Commentary

Although other cities beginning with mu alpha can be supplemented in line 1, the proximity of Maroneia to Samothrace, the close relationship between the two cities, and the fact that the Sanctuary of the Great Gods was an international setting suitable for display of internationally significant documents of nearby cities, makes the restoration Μᾰ[ρωνιτῶν] virtually certain. The close relationship between Maroneia and Samothrace is also well-attested epigraphically. Pilgrims coming to Samothrace by land would normally take a boat from Maroneia, as we know from a letter of Hadrian to Maroneia.²

A noteworthy parallel is provided by another inscription, found very close to the present monument, namely a mid-2nd century B.C. dedication by the Thessalian League to the Great Gods.³ In view of the size of the Thessalian Dedication and that of the base holding the statue of Catulus, they both may have been set up not far away, in the area around the Neorion.⁴

The importance of this document lies in providing a new historical fact, namely that Quintus Lutatius Catulus was patron, benefactor, and savior of the city of Maroneia. Although the appellation “patron, benefactor, and savior” may seem banal or exaggerated in honorary dedications, it is used in fact quite rarely: the PHI database contains approximately ten epigraphical examples from all over the Greek world, mostly in reference to Roman emperors.⁵ The documents where it does not refer to emperors are very few.⁶ The title “patron and savior” also occurs only several times, while “patron and benefactor” and “savior and benefactor” are much more frequent. Although, as Gelzer notes,⁷ these titles are more or less synonymous, the term “patron” suggests, at least in the Roman republic, a specific connection between a community and a person who actively defends the interests of the community.⁸ The combination of the titles *patron* and *soter* is especially significant, indicating that Catulus not only entered into a *patronus/cliens* relationship with the city, but he also performed an extraordinary act of protection for the



Figure 14.1. Statue base honoring Q. Lutatius Catulus, reused in Byzantine construction on the Western Hill; from the south. Photo Kevin Clinton.



Figure 14.2. Statue base honoring Q. Lutatius Catulus, reused in Byzantine construction on the Western Hill; detail. Photo Kevin Clinton.

² See Loukopoulou et al. 2005, E185, pp. 369–371.

³ Pounder and Dimitrova 2003.

⁴ In this we follow a suggestion made by B. Wescoat, who pointed out that this area was more likely to be the original site of both dedications, rather than on top of the Western Hill.

⁵ Packard Humanities Institute, Documentary CD No. 7, 1997.

⁶ Zschuchhardt 1899, p. 205, no. 12 (= *IGRR* IV 271) from Elaia, the harbor of Pergamon, honoring Lucius Agrius Bassus; Anderson 1887, pp. 403–404, no. 9, from Attouda, honoring Gaius Attius Clarus; Bean 1954, p. 93, no. 30, from Caunus, honoring Quintus Cascellius Geminus; Radet 1890, pp. 231–232, no. 3, from Nysa, honoring Publius Licinius Crassus Iunianus; *I.Stratonikeia* 1321, honoring Publius Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.

⁷ Gelzer 1969, p. 88.

⁸ Gelzer 1969, pp. 86–101.

city as *soter*.⁹ The title *soter* ranked higher in importance than *euergetes* – and is very seldom found together with the title *patron*. Catulus did something extremely important to deserve such honors.

First we need to establish which Catulus is the honorand. Three people with the name Quintus Lutatius Catulus are known from our sources. They are: (1) the consul of 102 B.C., the famous general, orator, writer, and builder;¹⁰ (2) his homonymous father; and (3) his homonymous son, the consul of 78 B.C., who was a prominent figure in late republican Rome.¹¹ Their timeframe is consistent with other criteria for dating our dedication. The broken-bar alpha provides a *terminus post quem*, namely some point in the 2nd century B.C. At Athens broken-bar alphas start appearing around 180 B.C. and become relatively common after the middle of the 2nd century.¹² There are not enough Samothracian documents to give us as accurate a date for this letter-shape in Samothrace, but the situation was probably not much different from Attica. In Samothrace we have one securely dated dedication from the middle of the 2nd century B.C.¹³ But another argument for the date can be brought to bear. In his study of Roman benefactors honored by Greek cities, Jean-Louis Ferrary does not list any Romans honored as patrons before the 1st century B.C.¹⁴

Let us return to the three men known as Q. Lutatius Catulus. The father of the consul of 102 B.C. seems to be the least likely candidate: he died very young, and there is no evidence that he was connected with any Greek cities. His son, the consul of 102, features as a character in Cicero's *De Oratore*. Although his remarkable fluency in Greek and intimate familiarity with Greek philosophy, literature, and culture suggest that he probably visited Athens as a young man, he was politically and militarily mostly engaged in the West.¹⁵

A prominent dedication in Athens next to the Stoa of Attalos honors a Q. Lutatius Catulus, whom B.D. Meritt identified with the consul of 78 B.C.:¹⁶

ὁ δῆμος
Κοῖντον Λυτάτιον
Κοῖντ *vacat*

This text was carved on the lowest drum of a very tall column, 7.19 meters in height (as is evident from the masons' marks, indicating the position of the column drums), with letters measuring 0.032 m. The inscription is incomplete (the third line should have read "son of Quintus," and we would have expected a title such as "benefactor" to have been listed), but perhaps its finished, definitive version stood on the now missing column base, as Meritt suggested.¹⁷ He connected the dedication with Catulus' presence in Greece as an officer of Sulla during the Mithridatic war.¹⁸ Catulus' alliance with Sulla was a logical outcome of the hostility between his father and C. Marius. His father and Marius defeated the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101 B.C. The victory was celebrated by a triumph in Rome, but Marius took most of the credit for the success. Catulus' embitterment and the enmity between him and Marius culminated when Marius' follower Gratidianus successfully prosecuted Catulus on a capital charge. As a result, Catulus committed suicide in 87 B.C. Five years later, in order to avenge his death, Sulla had Gratidianus slaughtered like a sacrificial victim at Catulus' gravesite.

The Athenian statue of Catulus is especially significant, since dedicating a monument for a Roman citizen in Athens during the Republican period was a very high honor. In his essay on Romans in Athens during the Hellenistic period, Christian Habicht points out that no Roman is attested as a *patronus* of Athens during the Republican period, and "no statue or other individual honor for a Roman is attested in Athens" before ca. 120 B.C., when a statue of Sextus Pompeius was set up; the next known statue is that of his son Cn. Pompeius in 92 B.C.; they were both governors of Macedonia.¹⁹

Both the Athenian and the Samothracian monuments were meant to be highly conspicuous: the one

⁹ On these titles, see especially Payne 1984, pp. 91–94. For a list of Roman *patroni* of Greek cities down to the Augustan period, see Ferrary 1997, pp. 219–225; additional examples have come to light since, e.g., *SEG* XLIII 558–559.

¹⁰ *RE* 13, 1927, cols. 2072–2082, s.v. Lutatius [7] (F. Münzer); Broughton 1984–1986, s. v.

¹¹ *RE* 13, 1927, cols. 2082–2094, s.v. Lutatius [8] (F. Münzer); Broughton 1984–1986, s. v.

¹² Tracy 1990, p. 238.

¹³ This is the Thessalian dedication, Pounder and Dimitrova 2003.

¹⁴ Ferrary 1997, Appendix 3, pp. 221–223.

¹⁵ Broughton 1984–1986, s.v. Lutatius.

¹⁶ Meritt 1954, no. 36, pp. 254–255.

¹⁷ The missing part of line 3 may have been completed in paint.

¹⁸ Meritt 1954, no. 36, pp. 254–255.

¹⁹ Habicht 1997.

mounted on a very tall column in the vicinity of the Stoa of Attalos, the other set up in the international Sanctuary of the Great Gods. We may infer, therefore, that similarly significant actions by Catulus prompted both monuments.

An important document regarding the relations between Maroneia and Rome, recently found in Samothrace, could provide a clue.²⁰ It recalls, in lines 9–11, the catastrophic disasters that befell Maroneia on account of its loyalty to Rome, with which it had a treaty that promised “friendship and alliance” for eternity:²¹ “utter destruction of their city, sixty stades in circumference, and loss of their children, plundering, their people taken prisoner, and the other misfortunes.”²² Clinton has argued that the disasters in question must refer to a hitherto unattested sack of the city by Mithridates’ army.²³

In 87 B.C. Mithridates’ son Ariarathes invaded Thrace and Macedonia with a large army and subjugated the region, according to Plutarch (*Sulla* 11.2.). Appian (37.135) tells us that it was Arcathias who invaded Macedonia, and it has been assumed that Arcathias and Ariarathes are the same person. However, Corey Brennan has shown that they were two different sons of Mithridates, who had no shortage of children, and they both invaded Macedonia in two different campaigns, in 87 and 86 B.C.²⁴

In any case, we know that the neighboring cities of Maroneia, namely the island of Thasos and the other two major cities of the Thracian coast, Ainos and Abdera, were attacked and suffered under siege. An inscription preserving a letter from Sulla to the citizens of Thasos, sent in 80 B.C., when Sulla was consul (*SEG* XVIII 349; *XLI* 718), mentions the tribulations of Thasos during the siege by Mithridates’ army. The letter refers to the oath sworn by the Thasians in order to maintain their loyalty to Rome: “They swore to sacrifice themselves, their children, and wives and to engage the forces of the enemy and fight to death if necessary for the sake of our republic rather than appear at any time to be disloyal to their friendship with Rome.” This situation at Thasos closely parallels Maroneia’s misfortunes on account of its loyalty to Rome.²⁵ Hence it is likely, as Clinton argued, that Maroneia suffered a fate similar to that of Thasos at the hands of Mithridates’ army and must have also been under siege.

Thasos was rewarded by Rome for its loyalty. The *senatus consultum* contained in Sulla’s letter mentions restoration of Thasian territories, towns, and ports. The Maroneian decree also mentions rewards granted to Maroneia by the Romans.²⁶ Therefore it is possible that Catulus, as one of Sulla’s officers, was helpful in providing these benefactions and was duly honored on account of them. Similar benefactions to Athens performed by Catulus may also have prompted the Athenian dedication set up in his honor.

We know very little, however, about Catulus’ presence in Greece. It is unclear which province was assigned to him; we know that he had to remain in Italy in 77, the year after his consulship, in order to help suppress a rebellion in Etruria, headed by Lepidus, the other consul of 78 B.C.²⁷ Plutarch (*Sulla* 22) tells us that many senators joined Sulla in Greece in 86 B.C., and scholars have assumed that Catulus was one of them.²⁸ Sulla himself is honored in a dedication from Oropos (*IG* VII 264, 81–79 a.), which uses phraseology very similar to that of our Maroneian dedication:

ὁ δῆμος Ὠρωπίων Λεύκιον Κορνῆλιον Λευκίου υἱὸν
Σύλλαν Ἐπαφρόδιτον, τὸν ἑατοῦ καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ
εὐεργέτην Ἀμφιαράωι.

Since this statue honored Sulla for his grant of privileges to Oropos, and Sulla later acted as patron on behalf of Oropos in Rome, Payne assumes that the highly honorific title *soter* here encompasses the notion of *patronus*.²⁹ Does this similarity between the two dedications imply that Catulus joined Sulla in Greece? The

²⁰ Clinton 2003, pp. 379–417.

²¹ Clinton 2003, pp. 380, 408–410; cf. Gruen 1984, pp. 738–740.

²² Clinton, 2003, p. 383.

²³ Clinton 2003, pp. 385–389.

²⁴ On the mistaken conflation of Ariarathes and Arcathias, sons of Mithridates in modern scholarship, see Brennan 1992, pp. 127–128.

²⁵ Clinton 2003, pp. 386–387.

²⁶ Lines 13–15.

²⁷ Cf. Smith 1960, p. 9. Münzer in *RE* 13, 1927, col. 2087, understood a passage in Cicero (*Verr.* 3.210–211) to mean that Catulus took up a provincial command after suppressing the revolt of Lepidus, but this is by no means clear.

²⁸ *RE* 13, 1927, cols. 2082–2094, s.v. Lutatius [8] (F. Münzer); cf. Badian 1962, p. 49.

²⁹ Payne 1984, p. 263.

suggestion has been doubted for lack of evidence. As Badian wrote, “Catulus, briefly recorded as escaping the massacre, only reappears as *cos.* 78... It is very difficult to believe that a noble of his prominence could escape mention, had he been active in the wars in the East and Italy.”³⁰ Badian further suggests that, since Catulus had connections that could help him stay in Rome, he almost certainly did not join Sulla in the East.³¹ But Badian does not mention the prominent statue of Q. Lutatius set up in Athens.

However, it was very rare for a Greek city to dedicate a statue of a Roman who had not visited it, especially during the Republic.³² The discovery of the Athenian monument led Twyman to see it as “probably ... clear evidence that Catulus was with Sulla” in the East in the 80s.³³ And now we have two prominent monuments honoring him in the East, the Athenian and the Samothracian.

Moreover, the Athenian dedication was especially stunning. The four drums of its column, with a height of 7.19 m., were found in front of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, not far from where they had fallen in the third century A.D.³⁴ Its base, presumably reused for some other purpose, was not found, nor were the column’s capital³⁵ and the block above it, on which the statue was set. When the missing monument base, capital, and superimposed statue base are taken into account, it seems safe to assume that the statue stood at the level of the second storey of the building, that is, ca. 7.5 m. above the terrace in front of the Stoa.³⁶

One other monument of great prominence stood in front of the Stoa at its center, also displaying a statue at the level of the second storey – that of the donor of the Stoa, Attalos II of Pergamon.³⁷ The statue of Attalos, though, was grander, representing him in a bronze chariot, standing on a pedestal 3.55 m. wide at its base.³⁸ Its base did not carry an inscription, which appeared instead on the epistyle of the Stoa.³⁹ An inscription was eventually carved on the base when the monument was re-dedicated to Tiberius, as “benefactor of the city,” [εὐεργ]έτης τῆς πόλεως.⁴⁰ But the visitor entering the Agora from the northwest, as he walked along the Panathenaic Way, would encounter first an impressive monument honoring another Roman *euergetes*, Q. Lutatius. There can be no doubt that the monument reflects a benefaction that was of great importance to the Athenians.

A further connection with Athens may be seen in the bronze statue of Athena by Euphranor which Catulus set up in Rome below the Capitolium, as described by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.77–78). This Athena Catuliana was most probably taken from Athens, since all documented sculptures by Euphranor were originally in Athens.⁴¹

In addition, the name Q. Lutatius also occurs in the names of Greeks who received Roman citizenship, notably two Euboean officials, listed in an inscription dated to ca. 25 B.C.: Κοῖντος Λυτάτιος Σύντροφος (Euboea, *IG* XII.9 916, lines 13–14) and Κοῖντος Λυτάτιος Ἡρακλέων (lines 42–43). It was a common practice for Greeks who received Roman citizenship to use the *nomen* and *praenomen* of the person who was especially helpful in procuring the grant of citizenship. The easiest explanation of the Greek Lutatii on Euboea is that there was a Roman *magistrate*, operating in Greece, by the name of Q. Lutatius, who played a significant role in obtaining the grants. The most likely Q. Lutatius is Catulus, the consul of 78 B.C., in which case it must have been their ancestors, presumably grandfathers, who received Roman citizenship. Cicero informs us (*Verr.* 4 37) that Catulus was instrumental in having Sulla grant citizenship to a Greek named Diodoros from Sicily, who also adopted the name Q. Lutatius.

If Catulus had a role in governing the Roman province of Macedonia, he could have easily arranged for grants of Roman citizenship and benefactions to Greek cities, in our case Maroneia and Athens. The Roman

³⁰ Badian 1962, pp. 52–53.

³¹ Badian 1962, p. 53.

³² Cf. Payne 1984, p. 254.

³³ Twyman, 1972, p. 838 n. 106.

³⁴ Meritt 1954, no. 36.

³⁵ Thompson 1950, pp. 317–318.

³⁶ See drawing by Travlos 1971, p. 508, fig. 638.

³⁷ Meritt 1957, pp. 85–88; Thompson 1950.

³⁸ Vanderpool 1959, pp. 86–90; the pedestal is shown restored in a model of the Stoa, pl. 10a.

³⁹ Meritt 1954, no. 36, pp. 254–255.

⁴⁰ Vanderpool 1959.

⁴¹ This information about the Athena Catuliana and its connection with Athens was kindly pointed out to us *per litt.* by Olga Palagia, who speculates in a forthcoming paper on Euphranor (to be published in *Artistic Personalities in Ancient Greece*, ed. P. Schultz and K. Seaman) that the Athena Mattei in the Louvre is copied from the Catuliana.

governors of Macedonia during the Republic were largely responsible for all of the European part of Greece. Sentius was in command of Macedonia between 93 and 87 B.C., then Sulla was the proconsul in charge of Macedonia between 87 and 83 B.C. Between 87 and 85 B.C., the commanders operating in Macedonia were Sulla; his officer Murena; and a man of Cinna's, Scipio Asiaticus. We have no evidence that any official participated in the command of Macedonia in addition to Sulla in 84 B.C., and for 83 and 82, after Sulla left for Rome, Corey Brennan hesitantly proposes unknown *legati*.⁴²

Our Q. Lutatius could have been one of Sulla's officers in charge of Macedonia around this time, either during Sulla's presence in Greece or shortly after his departure. It is possible that in his capacity of a provincial commander Catulus was recommending grants of Roman citizenship and was active in helping Greek cities recover from the disasters of the Mithridatic war, during which he might also have held a minor command as *legatus*.⁴³

A natural question that arises is: if Catulus was indeed an officer of Sulla in the East, why wasn't he recorded as such in our literary sources, which, for example, mention Murena? Our tentative answer is that probably Catulus did not excel in a major military operation, unlike Murena, who participated in the siege of the Peiraeus and commanded the left wing in the battle of Chaeronea. A monument from Messene can provide a parallel: it honors in addition to Sulla and Murena, a *legatus* by the name of Cn. Manlius Agrippa, who is not mentioned as an officer of Sulla in literature. The three blocks carrying the dedicatory inscriptions were built into a large podium, which held the three statues of these men.⁴⁴

Of course, conjecturing that Catulus was operating in the Roman province of Macedonia is, for the time being, just an attractive hypothesis. But even if he had no part in the command of Macedonia, he later had the opportunity, as praetor in 81 B.C., to help secure privileges that Sulla had given Maroneia and Athens as *imperator*; for Athens, which unwisely joined Mithridates against Rome, the privileges included retention of Delos, Imbros, and Lemnos.⁴⁵ Sulla intended to punish Athens for her betrayal. Some of his senators, however, begged him to spare the Athenians on account of their glorious past (Plutarch, *Sulla* 14). As an educated man and the son of a prominent Philhellene, Catulus could easily have been one of these senators.

Catulus and Sulla had established a strong friendship by 82 B.C., when Sulla avenged the death of Catulus' father, as mentioned above. In addition, Sulla was instrumental in securing Catulus' election as praetor in 81 B.C. and as consul in 78 B.C. If they had been together in the East during Sulla's campaign, this would have definitely contributed to their good relationship.

If, however, we suppose that Catulus did not join Sulla in the East but stayed in Rome, the Athenian and Maroneian dedications could have been related to his actions as consul in 78 B.C. But this seems a relatively late date for securing privileges or granting benefactions to Greek cities in the wake of the Mithridatic war. Thasos was taken care of two years earlier, as mentioned above.⁴⁶

If the present monument honors Catulus for his benefactions related to the Mithridatic war, then it provides further evidence that Maroneia was involved in the war as a Roman ally that suffered severely, and that it was rewarded by Rome for its loyalty. In any case, we now have evidence that Q. Lutatius Catulus, most probably the consul of 78 B.C., was honored in a dedication to the Samothracian Great Gods as "patron, benefactor, and savior" of the city of Maroneia. The city of Maroneia dedicated the monument in the internationally renowned Sanctuary of the Great Gods, to emphasize the significance of Catulus' benefactions, just as Athens honored him in one of its most conspicuous venues, by the Stoa of Attalos.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Professor J. R. McCredie, Director of the American Excavations, for permission to publish this important document; to Professor B. D. Wescoat for advice about the original location of the dedication and kindly providing us with a number of photographs; to D. Matsas of the 19th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Komotini, and his staff for rendering the inscription legible; and to Professor Christian Habicht for saving us from several errors and providing additional prosopographical references.

⁴² Brennan 2000, p. 708.

⁴³ Brennan 2000, p. 390.

⁴⁴ Themelis 1998, pp. 97–102, with Dohnicht and Heil 2004 (= *SEG* LIV 463).

⁴⁵ Ferguson 1911, p. 454. For Maroneia no information, but presumably aid in restoring the city.

⁴⁶ Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, nos. 174–175, pp. 37–55.

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15. An Inscription on Roman Samothrace

Robert L. Pounder

During the summer of 1986, New York University conducted excavations in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. James R. McCredie, director, and his staff, which included the present writer, discovered the remains of a large dedicatory building north of the Hellenistic stoa (here pp. 6–7, Figs 3.2–3.3, no. 29). Designed to house and display a votive ship, the Neorion proved to be one of the major constructions of the 3rd century B.C. in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods.¹ With the Monument of the Bulls on Delos, the Neorion is one of only two known votive monuments to accommodate an entire ship in the ancient Greek world, and as such it assumes a position of eminence not only among Samothracian structures but also in all of Hellenistic architecture.²

Although built not of marble but of a utilitarian porous sandstone from the island, a stone usually employed for foundations and retaining walls, the Neorion at Samothrace (27.25 m. long and 12.18 m. wide on the interior) was nonetheless an imposing edifice, commanding a prominent position on the Western Hill and boasting, on its northern, or front, facade, two doors fitted with frames of Thasian marble (here pp. 23–25, Figs 3.21–3.26, Fig. 15.1). These doors would have provided suitably grand access to the displayed ship. They were embellished with Doric entablatures, including triglyph-and-metope friezes, finished with an Ionic style cornice. Inside, the ship itself rested on Thasian marble supports (whose upper surfaces were the first evidence of the building that emerged in the course of digging, Fig. 15.2) situated, originally, behind a wooden grille lodged in a marble base. Macedonian architectural practice provided the chief influence on the building, in particular that reflected by the entrances of tombs in Macedonia.³ The Neorion had windows, too, as several blocks found on the site from piers, lintels and jambs attest, although the exact location of these windows must remain conjectural. Stucco was applied to the outer and inner walls to create a more polished effect. It is clear that this was an important structure, yet avoidance of the use of costly materials is noteworthy; moreover, the craftsmanship of construction, especially in the tiling of the roof and cornices, was “below par.”⁴ But these seeming indications of cost-cutting may reflect, rather, a need for quick shelter and protection of the votive ship.⁵

It is not our purpose here to study this building or to speculate on the type of ship (and perhaps other votives) it held – that has been done elsewhere by, among others but in greatest detail, B. D. Wescoat.⁶ The foregoing description of the building seems helpful, however, in providing context for the real topic of this essay: a fragmentary inscription incised into the Thasian marble of the jamb of its eastern doorway. This inscription, humble though it may be, nevertheless adds new evidence to our documentation of the Samothracian cult (Figs 15.3–15.4).

On the basis of pottery and coins unearthed in the foundation fill, in addition to the use of architectural *comparanda*, the excavators concluded that the Neorion was built during the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. This date leads to complicated and sometimes vexed arguments regarding the occasion of the dedication

¹ McCredie 1987, p. 270; idem 1986–87, pp. 50–51, figs 89–90; idem 1987–88, pp. 62–63; idem 1988–89, pp. 95–96; also, Lehmann 1998, pp. 107–111, figs 49–52. Full bibliography in Wescoat 2005, p. 156, n. 6.

² Octavian’s building that housed captive ships at Actium was more a ship-shed than a structure designed for purposes of display: Isager 2007, pp. 31–32.

³ Miller 1982, p. 158, figs 15–18.

⁴ Wescoat 2005, p. 163.

⁵ This is the view of McCredie, in Lehmann 1998.

⁶ Wescoat 2005, pp. 153–172; the Neorion will receive full publication by J. R. McCredie.

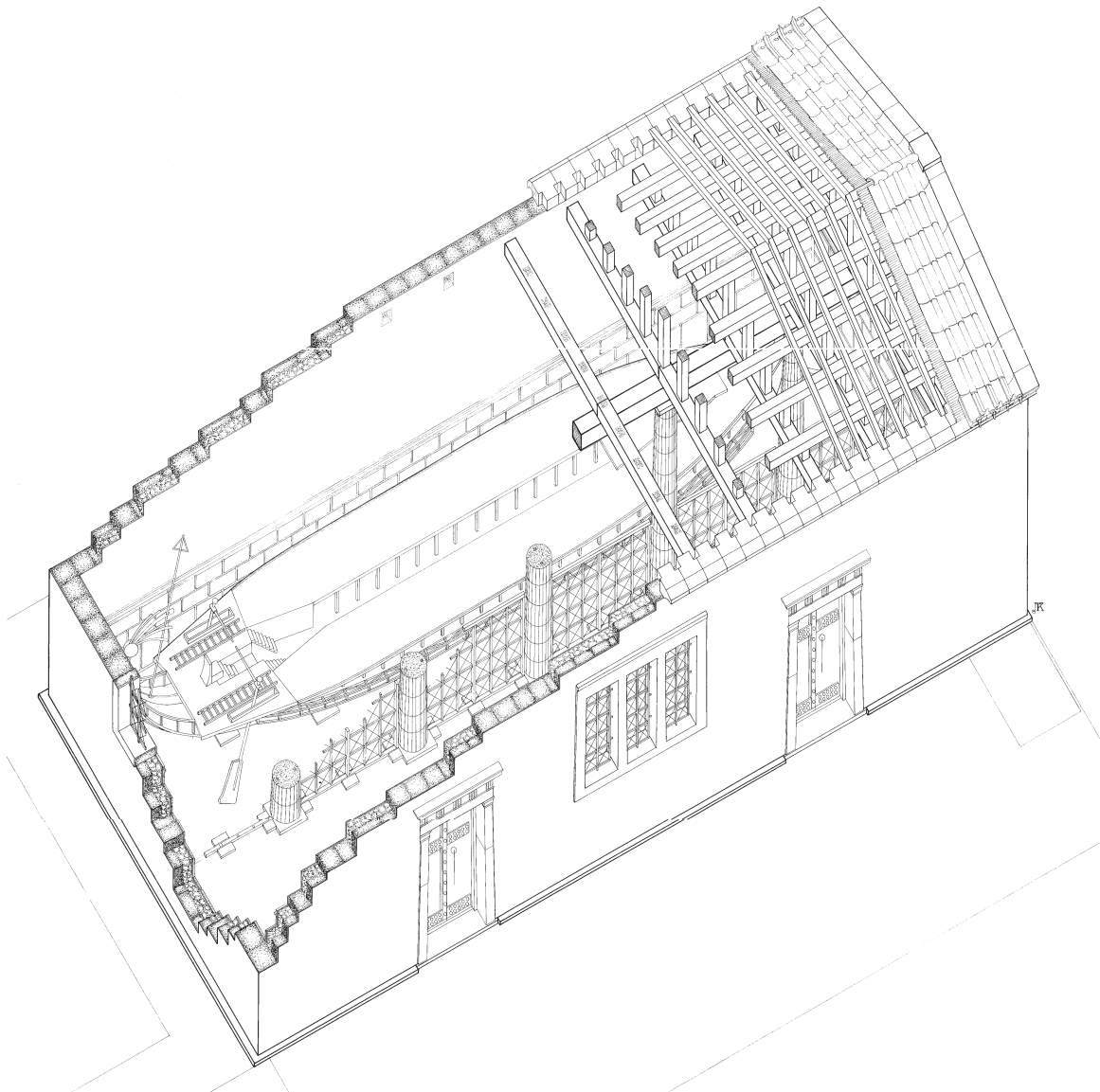


Figure 15.1. Plan oblique cut-away reconstruction of the Neorion. Drawing John Kurtich.

of the ship, the type of ship it was, and the identity of its donor.⁷ Such analysis, however engaging and stimulating, has little – or, at best, uncertain – bearing on the doorjamb inscription, because the inscription must be assigned a date much later than that of the building itself.

The three-line inscription was cut into the marble of the broad face framing the passage at almost exactly the midpoint of the height of the jamb, which measures 2.493 m. from top to bottom.⁸ It thus faced west and would have been visible, at slightly below average eye-level, to anyone entering the Neorion through the eastern door. But when and why was it inscribed?

Height of doorjamb block M32, 2.493 m; height of letters 0.07–0.08 m

[hedera] . OTITOΩ Σ
vacat
 .HΣ
 .HTPOΔIOY

⁷ The potential donors include Antigonos Gonatas and Arsinoe II; candidates for the ship-type range from trireme to bridal ship to pirate ship to swift warship; see Wescoat 2005, pp. 167–172 for a summary of current scholarly opinion.

⁸ The jamb was originally composed of two blocks, creating a door opening ca. 4 m high.

Commentary

Line 1:

The first line of this document begins with an ivy leaf. The appearance of such a device at the start of the preserved text does not help much in interpreting the line, although it provides an approximate date. Leslie Threatte points out that such ivy leaves are common on Roman inscriptions, although are “infrequent before 100 A.D.” and are “more often purely ornamental than true marks of punctuation.”⁹ The question of punctuation arises because in some cases a leaf could mark, as a period does, the end of a sentence or list, such as in a list of Thasian initiates (*mystai*) at Samothrace of the late 2nd century A.D. published by Peter Fraser, who writes “the leaf in line 11 probably marks the original end.”¹⁰ With our leaf, however, it is more likely that its presence separates, ornamentally, one section of the line from the next, or one name or title from another. The left-hand section of the text no longer exists, owing to the fragmentation of the marble at that point. The leaf is, therefore, at a midpoint in line 1 and is followed by the six (or seven) extant letters of the line. These, incised rather carelessly, are deeply eroded and difficult to read. There is a temptation to coax out of line 1 the genitive plural form of *epoptes*: that is, *epopton*. But the temptation must be resisted, since the third preserved space to the right of the leaf seems clearly to be *iota*, with *tau* the next letter.¹¹ The *omega* in the sixth space stands boldly forth, unambiguously, and its lower-case form affirms a date in the late-2nd or early 3rd century A.D.

Line 2 (there is a space between lines 1 and 2):

The first letter, badly eroded and fractured on the left, is probably *eta*. The second is definitely *sigma*, giving the possibilities of the conclusion of a name (or noun) in the nominative or the genitive singular of a noun.

Line 3:

This line, except for its initial letters, provides the only reading in the document that we can depend on with a measure of assurance. The first two spaces are badly worn, with the possible readings being *eta*, or perhaps an off-center *iota*, followed by an eroded letter that seems to be *tau*, though no obvious interpretation seems possible with those combinations of letters, and one searches in vain for a Greek word ending in *tau*. The third space contains *rho* and begins the word *Rodiou*, apparently the masculine genitive singular of the ethnic “Rhodian.” The connection with Rhodes puts us on firmer ground than anything else in this slender text. There are several citations at Samothrace of Rhodian names in the lists of *mystai*, *epoptai*, *theoroi*, and other officials.¹² And at least eight inscriptions found on Rhodes mention Samothrace or the cult of the Great Gods.¹³ In the Hellenistic period, there were other reasons to connect Rhodes with Samothrace, particularly in the sphere of naval and commercial activity. We may surmise that Rhodian visitors to the Samothracian sanctuary, no matter the origin of the votive ship, would have taken more than a casual interest in the dedication, given the prominence Rhodes’s naval forces enjoyed at the time.¹⁴



Figure 15.2. Thasian marble central support for the votive ship. Photo Bonna D. Wescoat.

⁹ Threatte 1980, p. 89; cf. Kirchner and Klaffenbach 1948, pl. 49, no. 136. McLean (2002, p. 49) argues for a more purely punctuational role for such devices as ivy leaves. He notes that “an ivy leaf, other leaf designs, or a triangle (Hadrianic) were often used in headings to mark the end of hexameters in metrical inscriptions or to fill up a space where a letter could not be carved without breaking the rules of syllabification.”

¹⁰ *Samothrace* 2.I, p. 108–109, no. 59 n. 4; Dimitrova 2008, pp. 121–122, no. 48.

¹¹ This temptation arises because *epopteia*, the highest form of initiation into the Samothracian mystery cult (the initial, lower form being *myesis*), as was true also at Eleusis, generated a number of inscribed lists of initiates, with dates from the Hellenistic period into at least the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. It was the initiation *par excellence*, a status not achieved by all, or even many, of those who were granted *myesis*. See Cole 1984, pp. 30–36, 46–48, and for discussion of Romans at Samothrace, pp. 87–103. For initiate lists, see most recently Dimitrova 2008 pp. 75–249, 257–258.

¹² Most recently Dimitrova 2008, nos. 5, 23, 50, 51, 57. For names of initiates and *theoroi*, see Cole 1984, pp. 170–186; Dimitrova 2008, pp. 271–278.

¹³ Cole 1984, pp. 154–158.

¹⁴ See Gabrielson 1997, esp. pp. 85ff.; for the role of Rhodes in the Mediterranean and its relations with Rome, see Berthold 1984, esp. pp. 233–237.

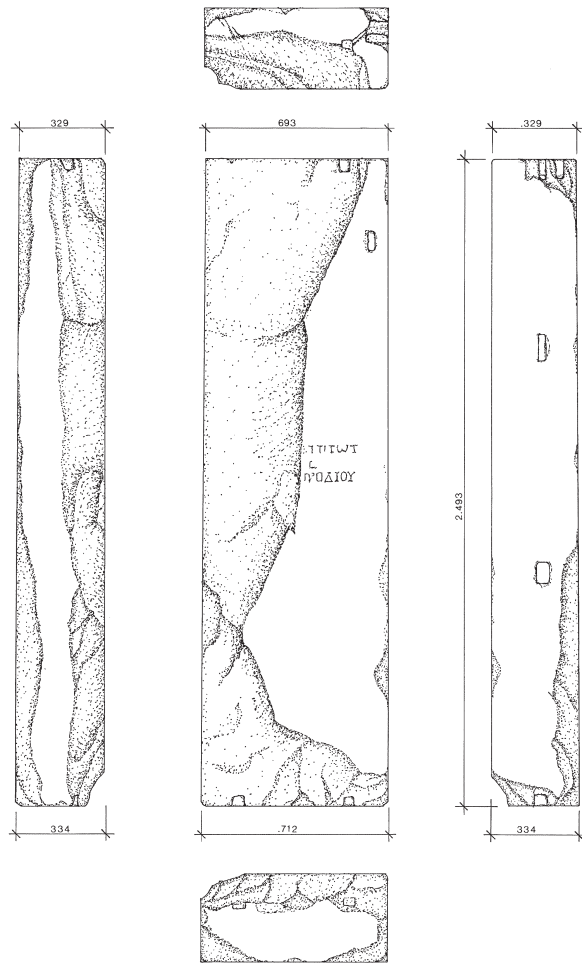


Figure 15.3. Doorjamb block M32. Drawing Amy Barnett.

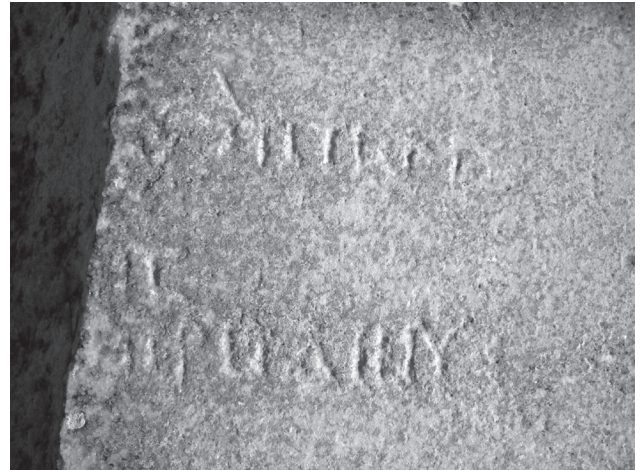


Figure 15.4. Detail of doorjamb block M32 showing inscription. Photo Bonna D. Wescoat.

Our inscription provides little, but it is enough to work with. The inscription was made, not in the Hellenistic period, not from the time of the construction of the Neorion and victories at sea, but from approximately 500 years later, when – by the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. – the influence of the Great Gods had begun its gradual decline, to be supplanted by the burgeoning cult of Christianity a century later. This leads us to reflect as follows: did the person from Rhodes who, probably in the early 3rd century, arranged to have the lines inscribed on the marble of the Neorion doorjamb we can still see today, know of a Rhodian past associated with naval might and naval triumph? And if so, did he, armed with that knowledge and being Rhodian himself, decide to

choose this building as the place to make his mark on Samothrace? It seems more than likely that the original ship was gone after half a millennium – had another taken its place, another ship or another kind of dedication altogether? What was the nature of the deed or event or occasion recorded by the inscription?

The inscription has an unmistakably informal, imprecise, almost graffito-like quality; it is rough hewn. Its placement in a position of such prominence on the doorjamb tends to support the notion that it lacked the official sanction of a venerable religious cult, that it was the gesture, rather, of an individual. Instead of commemorating an initiate or initiates (it would be extremely unusual to record the name of a single initiate), or the visit of ambassadors, or honors bestowed – such lists and decrees on Samothrace rarely find their places on the doors or walls of buildings but instead on stelai¹⁵ – it seems to have recorded a private benefaction to the Great Gods made by a citizen of Rhodes whose name we cannot know. One type of benefaction, dedications, had a long history in the sanctuary, certainly, with such magnificent structures as the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, the Altar Court, the Rotunda of Arsinoe II, and the Propylon of Ptolemy II Philadelphos proudly proclaiming the identities of their dedicators, following a time-honored tradition of naming a building (a tradition that still thrives around the world today). The Neorion inscription could conceivably share in that impulse to do honor, but this time not as a dedication.

As we have seen, dedications at Samothrace from Hellenistic times onward took their forms in buildings of one kind or another, or in sculptures on bases (the Nike now in the Louvre being the most celebrated¹⁶). The Neorion inscription, however, more likely commemorates a gift of a different sort altogether: I suggest that it

¹⁵ The wall blocks with lists of theoroi are an important exception; see Dimitrova 2008, pp. 21–49.

¹⁶ See Palagia, this volume.

records a repair – of the building itself or perhaps even of the ship itself, if the original ship (or possibly its replacement) still survived. In considering repairs, we know from a Byzantine inscription found on Samothrace in the time of Justinian I (A.D. 527–565) that a bath (*loetron*) there underwent repairs during those years (baths played important roles in the early Christian church).¹⁷ The benefactor who made this possible, if indeed an individual philanthropist was responsible, cannot be identified. But we can say with assurance that the impulse to give of oneself, in whatever fashion, like the impulse to join a community, is universal. It is highly plausible that a generous individual paid for the bath repairs. Perhaps our fragment, too, reflects a philanthropic impulse.

An even more striking parallel for this structural repair, an inscription also of the 3rd century, is found in Athens. This inscription, *IG II² 3198*, dated by the editors to 262/3 or 266/7 A.D., is cut into the pilaster in the center of the south wing of the Propylaea on the Acropolis. Facing the temple of Athena Nike, it records repairs made by P. Herennius Dexippus (ca. 205–273 A.D.), who held, among other Athenian offices, those of *archon basileus* and *agonothetes* of the Great Panathenaic games. An historian and dynamic politician sprung from a distinguished family that can be traced back at least to the 1st century A.D. in Athens, he cheered on his fellow citizens at the time of the Herulian invasion and sack of the Acropolis in 269.¹⁸ The inscription tells us that Dexippus, described as *semnotatos*, made repairs both to the Panathenaic ship and to the statue of Athena. But the published date must be incorrect. It is most plausible that the repairs were completed soon after the sack, not a few years before it, as the publication of *IG II² 3198* would have it.¹⁹

Thus, in the Athenian document we find an apt parallel for the doorjamb inscription on Samothrace, brief though the latter may be. One might ask whether this fragment, such a simple vestige of the past, merits our attention. I think it does. Scrappy and incomplete, it nonetheless embodies a Samothracian connection, even if its meaning cannot be recaptured with absolute certainty. At the same time, as we consider the inscription, we can recognize and experience its resonance. Even texts as slight as this shed light on history. Our inscription, in short, makes an undeniable historical point. It corroborates what we know from other evidence, and it adds one more tile to the mosaic. It makes clear that the cult of the Great Gods continued to exert a potent force well into the Roman Imperial period, continued to pull adherents to its remote island home, continued to filter human ambition and yearning, even in the twilight of its existence. It is a fact of archaeology that such knowledge is gained from things both great and small.

To put it another way, as the archaeologist or historian considers objects and texts from the past, as he or she contemplates evidence that may seem scarcely worthy of consideration, maybe the best course is to emulate Cyriacus of Ancona, that celebrated visitor to Samothrace who in 1444 A.D. looked around him and drew on what he knew of the past from his schooling.²⁰ What he knew from external evidence – in this case his reading of Plutarch and other authors – led him to identify the bust of an elderly man, discovered among the ruins, as Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander the Great. He did not come looking for a portrait of the great philosopher, but he found one, or what he thought was one. “What more reasonable place to find one than Samothrace?” as the Lehmanns put it.²¹ This discovery, the drawing Cyriacus made of it and other artifacts, including inscriptions and the famous frieze of dancing maidens,²² set in motion artistic and literary reverberations that influenced numerous works of art in the Italian Renaissance and far beyond.

Cyriacus’s romantic association of the battered and re-carved bust (now in the Samothrace museum) with the greatest of Greek philosophers, is undoubtedly incorrect. A more likely identification of the portrait-bust, which is unfinished on the back and originally part of a pedimental group of which Aristotle could not have been part, is Teiresias, the blind seer so memorably portrayed in the *Odyssey* (XI, lines 1ff.).²³ Cyriacus, captivated by the hooded, “philosophical” eyes of the elderly man whose likeness he happened upon, simply leapt to the wrong, though perfectly understandable, conclusion. After all, he found it in the place where Philip II of Macedon was said to have fallen in love with Olympias. Their son, Alexander, studied with the

¹⁷ Downey 1950, pp. 21–22; cf. *Samothrace* 2.I, no. 20.

¹⁸ On Dexippus, see Millar 1969, pp. 12–26.

¹⁹ See also Giraud 1994, p. 55, pl. 59. I thank Olga Palagia for directing me to this inscription.

²⁰ On Cyriacus’s Samothracian tour and its results, Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, pp. 3–58; cf. Ziebarth 1906, pp. 405–414.

²¹ Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, p. 17. It should be noted that the Lehmanns did not themselves accept the identification; cf. Lehmann 1943, pp. 127–128.

²² See Marconi, this volume.

²³ Lehmann 1998, pp. 124–125, fig. 56.

philosopher Aristotle. Macedonia was nearby. One thing leads to another. If, however, we point out his error, we also applaud the ingenuity and desire to make logical sense of material evidence and historical context that make him a forefather of modern archaeologists.

And so we return to the Neorion inscription. In its brevity and opacity it may not – indeed it does not -- attain the level of a sculpture that inspired a visitor to see the face of Aristotle. I would suggest, however, that this apparent record of an ancient repair does something simpler but more definite. Although it lacks the romantic and evocative nature of Cyriacus's pseudo-discovery, it nevertheless sets in motion telling reverberations of its own, reverberations that reach us even today.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Bonna Wescoat and Olga Palagia, the editors of this volume, for their guidance, as well as Kevin Clinton and Nora Dimitrova. And I am grateful to Bruce King, Flora Grabowska and Gary Hohenberger for technical assistance.

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16. The Conservation Program in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace

Stephen P. Koob

Jim McCredie first asked me to work at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace in April 1983. At that time, I was conservator of the Agora, and a staff member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The Agora did not have an excavation season that summer, and in the interest of sharing staff expertise and costs, I was to be “loaned” to the Samothrace excavations for their two-month summer season. I did not regret the slightly unusual transfer, and in fact, after the season, I asked to return for the summer of 1984. At that time Jim informed me that I would also have a student conservator from the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University (NYU). This began a long history of “supervisor and student” collaborative efforts, which has continued to the present.

The Early Years

Little is known of the conservation efforts carried out during the late 19th- or early 20th-century excavations. The Institute of Fine Arts began excavations in 1938, and except for an interruption during World War II, excavations have continued systematically, within the central sanctuary, on the Eastern and Western Hills, and in the northwest and southeast cemeteries or necropoleis.

Early on, Karl Lehmann, first director of excavations for the Institute of Fine Arts, recognized conservation as integral part of archaeological excavation and the subsequent obligation to preserve cultural heritage. He directed the partial *anastelosis* of the north porch of the Hellenistic Hieron (Figs 16.1, 16.2). There was enough preserved of the columns, capitals and blocks for an accurate restoration, which was carried out



Figure 16.1. The facade of the Hieron, before *anastelosis*, with workers moving a column drum. Phyllis Williams Lehmann seen to the right.

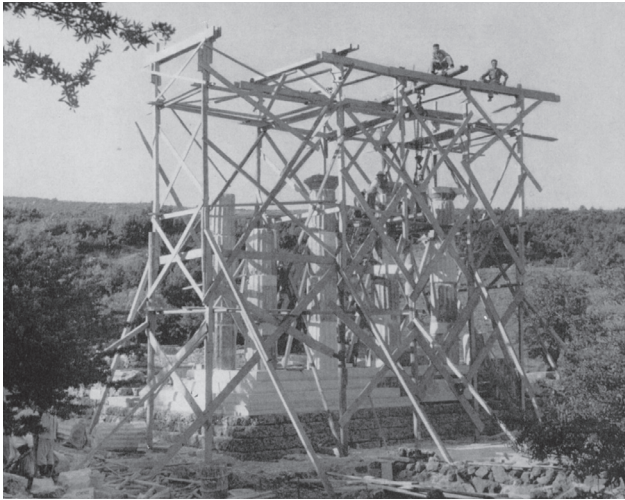


Figure 16.2. Hieron during *anastelosis*, 1956. After *Samothrace* 3, 28.



Figure 16.3. Restored Corinthian capital from the west facade of the Propylon of Ptolemy II. Photo Stephen Koob.

with permission of the Greek Ministry of Education and with the consent of the Archeological Council and Director of *Anastelosis*, in the summer of 1956. Only two modern replacement marble column drums were needed to re-erect the four columns. The original corner capital was also returned from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (where it had been since the 1870's) after negotiations between Vienna and Athens, and in exchange for two Greek vases from the National Museum in Athens.

Lehmann also hired several Greek conservators, all from the Kontogeorgis family, originally from Thessaloniki. The father, Georgios, worked at various times for the excavations, and was then followed by his sons. Triantaphyllos Kontogeorgis, one of the sons, was also the chief pottery restorer of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, and continued to work for Jim McCredie through the 1960s and 1970s. Triantaphyllos Kontogeorgis restored and reconstructed many of the architectural elements now on display in the Museum, notably the facade of the Rotunda of Arsinoe, and the Corinthian capital from the west facade of the Propylon of Ptolemy II (Fig. 16.3). The other son, Apostolos Kontogeorgis, worked in 1962–1963 for Elsbeth Dusenbery, who was excavating with Andreas Vavritsas in the South Necropolis.

Elsbeth Dusenbery initiated the collaboration with the Conservation Center at New York University, inviting the first student in 1963. Others followed during the 1964–1966 seasons. NYU conservation students did not come to Samothrace between 1966 and 1984, but Jim McCredie re-instated the connection in 1984 and NYU conservation students have come to work at the Sanctuary every year until 2008.

Conservation Responsibilities

On any archaeological site, the retrieval and treatment of excavated finds are of primary importance. The Sanctuary of the Great Gods has been excavated in numerous campaigns, with summer seasons in between devoted to study, research and preparation of publication. The roles of the conservators, in either case, are well-defined, and are dictated by the Director of the Excavations. Priority is almost always given to incoming, newly excavated finds, as these provide valuable information to the archaeologists and overall understanding of stratigraphy and dating of the areas being excavated.

During study seasons, priority is generally given to any backlog of previously untreated materials, and to any materials that are at risk, because of instability, or structural failure of an adhesive. In addition, need may arise for additional cleaning, identification of materials (e.g., is this stone, plaster, iron, bronze?), or treatment and restoration for museum display or for publication. The conservators are always “on call” and they interact regularly with the archaeologists, visiting scholars and researchers, and even the architects and photographers. Finally, there is always a need to improve the stability and appearance of objects on display in the museum through re-treatment or the fabrication of new mounts and display materials, as well as to make improvements in storage. Throughout the history of conservation at Samothrace, the conservators have undertaken all of these responsibilities.

Archaeological conservators combine hands-on skills with a broad knowledge of material science, which then allows them to make informed decisions about the identification of materials and the proper methods for their preservation. Because Samothrace is such a remote location, with limited available supplies and materials, the conservators naturally develop resourceful methods and efficiency that include recycling and re-using everything from glass bottles, solvents, to packing materials. Minimal intervention and passive conservation have become the standards by which conservators can contain costs and save time and resources, without compromising the stability or preservation of an artifact.

The Museum and Conservation Laboratory

The Archaeological Museum on Samothrace was begun in 1939; work resumed after World War II. It opened in July 1955; the North Wing was added in 1960–61. The Museum consists of four wings arranged around an open central, square courtyard. On the east side, Hall A houses reconstructed architectural elements from buildings in the Sanctuary, and is the main entrance to the Museum. Hall A is flanked by Halls B and D, which contain mainly sculptures and small finds. Hall C, on the south side, houses mostly ceramics and glass from the Sanctuary and the necropoleis, along with some sculpture and most of the metal finds. The West Wing consists of offices, and the North Wing (Hall E), which was designed as an exhibition hall, currently contains stored finds and study materials and serves as the archaeologists' and architects' workroom. A partial second floor over the northwest corner of the building is employed primarily for offices and storage of pottery.

From 1963 to 1966, the NYU students set up their conservation lab in Hall E, which had recently been built but was not yet used for museum exhibits, because the small lab on the west side of the complex adjacent to the stone and pottery storage areas was already in use by the Greek conservators. However, since 1983 this dedicated space has been the only conservation laboratory.

The laboratory is small (approximately 5 m by 4 m), with a large central table that can seat three persons comfortably (Fig. 16.4). It has two windows (Fig. 16.5) and two doors, one of which opens onto a covered porch. There is no running water, which is a slight inconvenience, but water is available from the bathroom along the inner courtyard. The covered porch has always been considered an “extension” of the laboratory, and is regularly used to ease the crowded space, and to take advantage of its outdoor light and ventilation (Fig. 16.6).



Figure 16.4 (*above left*). Conservation Laboratory, view from the porch, 1997. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.5 (*above right*). Conservation Laboratory, view towards the South, 1985. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.6 (*right*). West porch, outside Conservation Laboratory. Photo Stephen Koob.

Laboratory Equipment and Supplies

Almost nothing in the way of laboratory equipment or conservation supplies is available on the island of Samothrace, and every year supplies are brought from Athens or abroad. In the earliest years most of the materials used by Triantaphyllos Kontogeorgis would have been obtained in Athens or Thessaloniki, and some tools, equipment and supplies (shellac, lacquers and a small stove) still remain. Equipment additions have been limited, but the Laboratory has become better and better outfitted over the years. The 2000g Ohaus weighing scale purchased in New York in 1964 has now been replaced with a three-kilogram beam balance. A microscope was brought from the Agora in 1983–1984, and returned, with a permanent replacement received from the NYU Conservation Center in 1985. Two deionizing columns (to de-ionize or filter pure water) were obtained in Athens prior to the 1983 season.

Chemicals and small supplies have always been brought to the island each summer in one of two ways. They are purchased in Athens and assembled at the American School (as a courtesy by the Agora staff) where they are then picked up by Jim McCredie and driven to the island. These supplies routinely include any solvents or chemicals, which cannot be transported from abroad, as well as the newly recharged deionizing column (only one is needed every summer). They also include a variety of tools or other items that are difficult to obtain locally. The student and supervisory conservators bring in other materials, such as dry chemicals that are not easily available in Greece. An inventory is carried out at the beginning and end of every summer, and a “List of Needed Supplies” is prepared as an appendix to the annual conservation report.

Records

A major responsibility of any conservation project is to document the condition of an object before and after treatment, as well as record any materials that have been used in that effort. To this end, a four-page conservation laboratory report designed in 1964 is still used today. All of the conservation records are kept in three-ring binders and are now stored according to their material (e.g., metals, ceramics and glass, other materials) and excavation catalog number.

Conservation Responsibilities

Preservation of the archaeological record, during and after excavation, is most important to both the archaeologist and the conservator. The information that this record provides is vital to the understanding, history, publication, and eventual public “presentation” of the site and the excavated materials.

Most of the archaeological finds in the semi-arid climate of Greece can be classified as “objects” that are three-dimensional and inorganic in nature. Organic materials such as leather, wood, textiles, cotton or wool are rarely preserved anywhere in Greece, and Samothrace is no exception. Only bone and ivory are routinely found there, and while both of them have some organic component, they are also classified as inorganic. The majority of the excavated areas lie within the ancient sanctuary, which was active from the 7th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. Many of the objects found there may have been used either in rituals or served as dedications. However, a much broader assortment of excavated materials resulted from peripheral excavations, including the necropoleis.

The predominant excavated materials are stone, ceramics, glass, metals, bone, ivory, and plaster. Stone finds range from architectural to figural, to precious. Ceramics, which are perhaps the most common finds, include everyday utilitarian objects used in ritual contexts, as well as architectural terracottas and building materials, figurines, and even imported fine Athenian vases. Most of the glass objects retrieved on Samothrace come from the excavations of the necropoleis, and they were probably both utilitarian items as well as grave offerings. The metals fall into similar categories, such as iron, bronze (copper alloys) and lead used for both architectural applications or common everyday needs (nails, utensils, etc.), as well as silver and gold, employed for decorative ornamentation, jewelry, or coins. Most of the coins (they number close to 1,000) were made of bronze. The stone finds, mostly marble, include most spectacularly the remains of elegant marble buildings in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, architectural sculpture, the remains of numerous smaller scale statues and statuettes, as well as inscriptions.

Conservation of Objects, Past and Present

The organized field of Conservation was relatively new when Jim McCredie began working on Samothrace in 1961. The International Institute for Conservation was founded in 1951, and the American Institute for Conservation in 1966. The approach to the treatment of objects on Samothrace has changed significantly over the years, primarily because new materials and techniques have been developed as the field of conservation has made advances in a better understanding of the nature of materials, and how they are best preserved.

Objects are conserved and restored for numerous reasons, from a simple cleaning to reveal the nature and details of the object, to the complete reconstruction of a pottery vessel so that it may be studied, dated, published, and potentially put on museum display. Conservation is an integral part of archaeology, as it provides the archaeologist with significant information relating to the dating and context of an excavation. This is particularly true of coins and pottery, whose chronologies are extremely well understood. Finally, archaeological objects have a cultural and aesthetic value, and their preservation and exhibition will continue to interest the general public, as well as scholars and historians, for generations to come.

The challenge for the archaeological conservator is to understand precisely material science, and to recognize that most materials made by man have required some alteration to make them into usable (or aesthetically attractive) objects. Because most materials are “man-made”, they are thermodynamically unstable, and the energy required to make them also causes them to deteriorate. Iron *needs* to rust because rusting or corrosion allows that energy to be released, and permits the iron to return to its original components: iron, ore, carbon and oxygen. Some materials are more stable than others, and their preservation in the archaeological record depends upon both the material itself and the nature of the burial environment. The archaeological conservator’s responsibility is to reveal and preserve as much information as possible, without damaging or compromising the integrity of an object.

It is not possible to list all the materials that have been excavated and the changes in treatment that have occurred over the past 50 years in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. Therefore only the two largest classes, “Bronzes” and “Ceramics and Glass” will be addressed.

Bronzes, which are more correctly described as “copper alloys” (since it is difficult to determine if the metal is mostly copper, bronze, or brass), are particularly important on Samothrace because they include most of the coins, many utilitarian objects, several dedications and the occasional architectural attachment. These materials not only deteriorate, or corrode, in the burial environment, but they also tend to continue deteriorating after they are excavated. This is largely the result of copper chlorides that develop in burial from chloride contamination that is prevalent in archaeological sites by the sea. If the chlorides are not removed or stabilized in some way, they react with moisture in the air and the bronzes continue to corrode, typically exhibiting common bright powder “bronze disease.”

Efforts to stabilize archaeological bronzes involve both *active* and *passive* conservation. The active part generally consists of cleaning and removing corrosion (and the offending chlorides), while passive conservation relies on keeping the bronzes very dry, so that no moisture is available for future corrosion. Both methods have been tried over the years on Samothrace.

In the early years of conservation (1960–1966) bronzes were commonly “stripped” of corrosion products, using an electrochemical process of wrapping the bronze in zinc (sheeting or granules), and immersing it in hot sodium hydroxide. This process reduces the corrosion, often cleaning the object down to the “bare” metal. Another early treatment, with a sequestering agent to remove the copper chlorides, was prolonged soaking in sodium sesquicarbonate. Since 1983, this treatment has been eliminated because it is extremely long and seldom completely effective; in addition, it changes the appearance of the bronze to a pale blue-green color. While the zinc/sodium hydroxide treatment is still considered satisfactory in some cases, it has generally been replaced with less invasive cleaning methods, including cleaning under the microscope, stabilization in benzotriazole (BTA), a compound that chemically “links” with chlorides and prevents them from reacting with moisture. Other chemical treatments have been introduced over the years, and continue to be employed and assessed.

Various coatings and different types of storage have been attempted over the years in an effort to prevent bronzes from developing bronze disease and continuing to corrode. In the early years (1960–1966), beeswax was used, as well as a synthetic resin, polyvinyl acetate (PVA). Starting in 1983, microcrystalline wax was used,

but it then gave way to acrylic coatings, which are more durable. One acrylic coating, known as “Incralac,” is a mixture of a very hard acrylic resin with the well-known copper stabilizer benzotriazole. Unfortunately, it was often applied very heavily, especially on the coins. The result was severely (and rightfully) criticized by Jim McCredie, because the coins became very shiny and almost impossible to photograph. This problem has been rectified in recent years, by the use of a much thinner and matte coating.

In addition to coating the bronzes, two significantly different ways of achieving controlled storage were undertaken. First, in 1964, Heather Lechtman attempted to desiccate (keep thoroughly dry) the bronze storage case (C-2) by placing bowls of sodium hydroxide in the bottom of the case. Since sodium hydroxide is a very strong alkali, it readily absorbs moisture from the air. The first attempt was a major failure. Too much sodium hydroxide was placed in each bowl, and as the alkali absorbed more and more water, the bowls overflowed, severely damaging the case. Ms. Lechtman’s detailed instructions were followed for three seasons, but then abandoned.

In later years, silica gel was adopted in the conservation field as a better desiccant for the storage of archaeological metals, but it was not deemed necessary in the period 1983–1986. It was used from 1987–1991, but it has since been abandoned. Samantha Alderson conducted a comprehensive survey of the bronzes in 1992–1993, and the need for a desiccant in storage has been a topic of much debate. It appears that the more recent stabilizing efforts, particularly those using BTA, have almost eliminated the need for low-humidity storage. Moreover, because the climate on Samothrace is so damp most of the year, the use of silica gel was only minimally effective. It may have even exacerbated corrosion problems, owing to the fact that once it absorbed moisture over months and months, it then retained that moisture in the case, thus exposing the bronzes to a worse environment. Therefore, at present, no silica gel is used in storage, and all the bronzes have been placed in individual zip-lock polyethylene bags. This method of isolating them is a slight improvement over the original paper bags in which they were stored, but is not an attempt to keep them dry. The bags do not seal all that well; instead, they “breathe”, allowing moisture to go in and out. Nevertheless, a comprehensive survey in 2004 showed that 97 percent of the bronzes (not including the coins) were stable. The three percent of the objects that showed (very minor) instability were retreated, and all will be monitored in future years. None of the coins has shown any instability in the last eight years.

In sum, all the bronzes have been retreated and rehoused over the years. Most of the objects have either stabilized to their new “non-burial” environment, or are very close to doing so. It is reassuring to anticipate that little or no active intervention may be necessary in future years.

Pottery, Terracotta and Glass The vast majority of excavated artifacts are made of pottery or terracotta. Almost all of these are iron-rich earthenwares that are typical to the region. Significant trade with major cities is underscored by the presence of numerous imported wares, most notably Attic black glaze, black-figure and red-figure. However, the bulk of the pottery appears to be of local manufacture. Some clay sources of very good quality existed on the island and clay may have been imported as well.¹ Most of the terracotta figurines are made of a very fine, dense clay that may also have been local. Coarser architectural terracottas were probably also manufactured locally.

The stability of these closely related materials following excavation is of much less concern than the stability of the bronzes. However, almost all the pottery, even the imported wares, is poorly preserved on Samothrace because of the alkaline burial environment, which along with well-drained soil, weakens and even dissolves away the surface (Fig. 16.7). In 1983 and 1984 soil samples taken from different areas in the Sanctuary yielded a slightly alkaline pH (7.5–8.0). Soil conditions and the burial environment are particularly important to an understanding of how and why buried objects are preserved or deteriorate. The soil also reflects the geophysical conditions of the site, which can be summarized simply that the calcareous geology of the local mountains produces a basic or alkaline soil that has largely been washed free of soluble salts by the mountain runoff.

Fortunately, almost no heavy deposits of salts have been noted on the ceramics, from any areas of the site, and this can also be attributed to the major “water-washing” (mostly rain and snow melt) that occurs on Samothrace, which according to a local Greek saying, is “well-watered.” Upon excavation, a thin layer of micaceous “mud” is found on most of the ceramics, and it is best cleaned off as soon as possible, as it becomes much more difficult to remove once it has dried.

¹ Karadima, Matsas, Blondé, et al. 2002.



Figure 16.7. Severely etched black-figure pot. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.8. Restored pottery, with discolored shellac adhesive and discolored fills. Photo Stephen Koob.

Most of the glass is in a very good state of preservation and very few glasses are heavily weathered. For both ceramics and glass, cleaning has always been very straightforward. There is almost no need for any chemical cleaning, or desalination. (The latter is often required on many archeological sites because of the large quantities of soluble salts in the soil). The most difficult aspect of ceramics and glass conservation is the assembly of broken fragments and the restoration of losses or missing fragments. The condition of the ceramics makes them very difficult to assemble, as the surfaces and broken edges are soft and worn from the aggressive burial environment.

The adhesive used by Triantaphyllos Kontogeorgis was the traditional *Gumma lacca* or shellac that was used at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens for most of the 20th century. It has several good qualities as an adhesive for ceramics. It has a high viscosity (thickness), it sets rapidly (it is used hot, and sets upon cooling), and it can be reheated to make corrections and adjustments, even on a pottery vessel after assembly. However, shellac is dark brown in color and brittle as an adhesive. Upon re-heating, it becomes even darker and even more brittle. It is also difficult to remove, it therefore results in generally unsightly repairs (Figs 16.7–16.8). It was also routinely used on glass but was very unsightly (Fig. 16.9).



Figure 16.9. Brown shellac on glass vessel. Photo Stephen Koob.

NYU conservators never used shellac as an adhesive, and the two commonly employed conservation adhesives, PVA and cellulose nitrate were introduced in 1964. Elmer's Glue-All® was the water-based PVA adhesive that was used, and although it adhered well to pottery, it did not to glass. While significantly more stable and more reversible than shellac, it is extremely sensitive to heat and the joins of an assembled vessel may sag and collapse. This has continued to occur over the years, simply from the fact that there is little or no climate control, and no air conditioning, in the Museum or in the storage areas. Temperatures on Samothrace rarely exceed 35 degrees Centigrade, but the PVA adhesives soften just above 25 degrees C.

For glass, the popular cellulose nitrate, Duco Cement®, was the preferred adhesive, but it yellows and becomes more and more brittle over time (yellowing was noted already in 1964). Despite the introduction of new synthetic adhesives, Triantaphyllos Kontogeorgis continued to prefer the natural resin shellac for assembling large pottery vessels throughout the 1960's.



Figure 16.10. Glass vessels re-restored using Paraloid B-72 adhesive. Photo Stephen Koob.

Shellac was abandoned after Kontogeorgis stopped coming to Samothrace, and eventually both PVA and cellulose nitrate were also discontinued. An acrylic resin, Paraloid B-72® was introduced in 1986, and it is now the primary adhesive for almost all pottery and glass assembly. This clear, non-yellowing adhesive can be prepared on-site as needed. It is the most stable resin known in conservation, and is easy to use, clean up, or remove (in case re-treatment is required).

Loss compensation (or “gap-filling” as it used to be known), was, and is, routinely done for most fragmentary pottery vessels, particularly if they are to be displayed in the museum. Not every vessel is restored, but associated fragments are usually joined and restorations are carried out either for structural support or visual presentation. Plaster of Paris has been the predominant fill material used, even since the 1960s, but new techniques to simplify its use have been introduced by the author. In most instances, since

the majority of the students have had the same supervisor and instructor, most of the pottery restorations have a uniform and homogeneous appearance.

Re-treatment of previously restored pottery and glass is one of the conservators’ major efforts every summer. This is necessary to replace the old and failing adhesives (above) and to improve the aesthetic appearance of the pottery that is on museum display. It usually entails completely disassembling the earlier restoration and removing all of the previous restorations and adhesive. This process almost always improves the appearance of the object and also ensures that it is structurally more stable. As many pottery and glass objects as possible have been re-treated in recent years (Fig. 16.10). The early cellulose nitrate and PVA adhesives are easy to remove using solvents. Shellac, on the other hand, is very difficult to remove, and it has been a nemesis for students every summer. The re-treatment of any mid-sized or large object can take weeks and weeks of work.

In the Museum

The more recent seasons on Samothrace have not involved major excavation. Instead, emphasis has been placed on improving museum displays. This effort includes making new mounts, replacing old linen backings, or repainting, display blocks. As noted above, pottery objects are re-treated to remove old and unsightly shellac, as well as for general cleaning, desalination, and reconstruction. Many of these treatments involve the removal of plaster fills, which can be a source of salts, and which had been in some instances applied in excess (that is, completely covering the inside of a vessel). Other projects include condition surveys of all the non-numismatic copper alloy objects, and the examination of preserved polychromy and paint ghosts on architecture fragments.

On-Site Conservation Efforts

Numerous other on-site conservation and restoration efforts have been carried out over the years to protect the architectural monuments and excavated features (such as kilns or hearths), and the general topography. Most of these projects involved workmen rather than conservators, under the supervision of Jim McCredie. More recently, vegetation cleanup efforts, and the retrieval of architectural blocks from lower ravines have been carried out by the Greek Ministry of Culture, under the direction of Dimitris Matsas. These all contribute to an improved touristic presentation and overall site enhancement.

From the earliest years to the present, some routine conservation treatments have been carried out by students and supervisors on the site. These tasks include the mending of broken architecture stones, and the reburial of some of the pebble mosaic or marble chip floors.



Figure 16.11. Cleaning of epistyle blocks from the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.12. Lichen staining on epistyle block from the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.13. Corner geison-sima block from the Hall of the Choral Dancers, before restoration. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.14. Restoration of lion-head spout on corner geison-sima block from the Hall of the Choral Dancers, during restoration. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.15. Corner geison-sima block from the Hall of the Choral Dancers, after restoration. Photo Stephen Koob.

In recent years (2002–2008), these projects have expanded to include the cleaning of some architectural blocks, lichen abatement, and reassembly of fragmentary architectural features. One particularly important focus has been the cleaning of the two inscribed epistyle blocks of the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, from the entrance complex on the Eastern Hill. Treatment includes cleaning around the blocks to isolate them from the ground and applying a biocidal soap, Vulpex ®, twice a week (Figs 16.11 and 16.12). Some mechanical cleaning was done to remove the largest lichens. The cleaning and biocide treatment noticeably improved the appearance of the blocks in just 2 years.

The dispersed fragments of one of the large red porphyry monument platforms framing the Theatral Circle on the Eastern Hill were cleaned, relocated and rejoined. This on-going task has also involved removal of accumulated dirt and plant debris. Some architectural repairs were also done in the museum, including the recently discovered southeast corner geison-sima block from the Hall of the Choral Dancers (Figs 16.12–16.15).

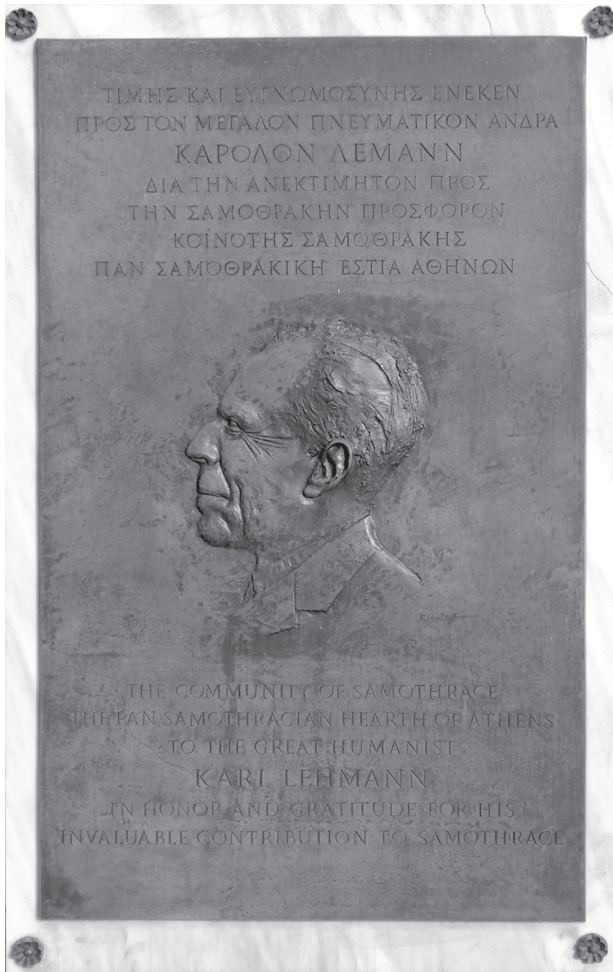


Figure 16.16. Karl Lehmann plaque, before cleaning. Photo Stephen Koob.

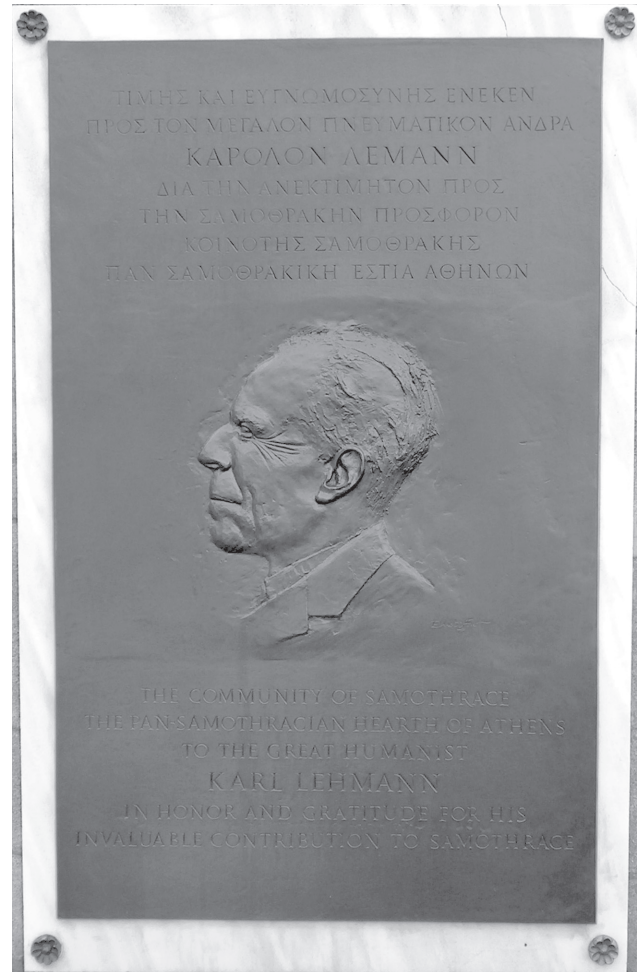


Figure 16.17. Karl Lehmann plaque, after cleaning and re-waxing. Photo Stephen Koob.

Karl Lehmann Plaque

The maintenance of the Karl Lehmann memorial bronze plaque at the entrance to the museum has become an annual event, with a complete removal of the previous year's microcrystalline wax coating, and the reapplication and buffing of freshly applied microcrystalline wax (Figs 16.16 and 16.17).

Teaching and Training Opportunities

The experience of working on three-dimensional objects develops skills that can be employed in any conservation practice. Many of the students who came to Samothrace never intended to specialize in object conservation, much less archaeological conservation, but work on archaeological objects, whether they are newly excavated or undergoing treatment for a second or third time, gives one an understanding of how sensitive, yet durable, man-made materials can be. Every season has also provided an opportunity to test established and innovative treatments, including new cleaning methods, new adhesives, and new techniques and materials for restoration and museum display.

Students and supervisors alike have played significant roles in these developments. The very nature of student-teacher communication and interaction has made the Sanctuary a fertile ground for the introduction of new ideas. Students bring with them a wide variety of new ideas, including the wonders of digital photography and record-keeping, which have revolutionized some of the basic approaches to reassembling a fragmented vessel (Fig. 16.18). Supervisors have opportunities, as well, to absorb the fresh thinking of the students, and

to experiment with new resins and new materials. Numerous ideas and research subjects published by the author began with hours devoted to contemplating the problems of pottery and glass restoration on Samothrace.

The summer seasons that included excavation were much busier and more difficult than those without. In addition to having less pressure, the non-excavating or “study seasons” afforded students an opportunity to select materials and projects from the museum’s collections that were of interest to them. Some of these projects went far beyond the simple cleaning and stabilization of a poorly preserved archaeological find. They often involved the execution of a complex treatment such as assembling and restoring a pottery vessel for museum display. Every summer, students also had the opportunity to practice their color-matching and in-painting skills, mostly on pottery fills, but sometimes also on stone or terracotta.

The small, but steadily growing library gives students a chance to read and review articles and other publications that are new to them. The growing amount of supplies and laboratory materials also offers students numerous opportunities to practice and perfect hands-on skills that they may have only seen demonstrated in school.

One final student responsibility provides continuity from summer to summer: the end-of-season conservation report. This report provides both the excavation and Jim McCredie with a record of what has been accomplished during the summer, but also serves as an introduction for the following year’s student(s). It features cross references to the *Treatment Records* and *Treatment Notebook*, which remain in the conservation lab, and it includes a final inventory of supplies and materials, as well as items requested for the next summer. All of the records continue a long legacy of conservation history and ethical responsibility.

Conclusion

The conservation efforts on Samothrace are important for the preservation of artifacts, monuments, and the site. They also aid archaeologists, scholars, and researchers in their efforts to better understand, interpret and publish the material. In addition, there is mutual benefit to the excavation and to all the conservators and students who work every year. The excavation and museum benefit from the conservation efforts, and the students benefit from the experience, training, and association with archaeologists and researchers. Supervisory time, although limited, has proven invaluable to provide the new students with an in-depth teaching and hands-on introduction. This aspect has become standard at the very beginning of every season. Recently, it has been supplemented with the one-week course, titled “A Short Course in Archaeological Field Conservation,” offered at the NYU Conservation Center for all students who plan to work in the field. Started by Kent Severson in 2003, the course provides a detailed introduction to conservation work on an archaeological site, and includes numerous hands-on practical sessions. It is held at the end of the Spring semester, so that everything learned is still fresh in the minds of the students as they begin their summer programs.

Acknowledgements

I thank all of those who have contributed and displayed their commitment to this long history of conservation on Samothrace, especially the many students who spent summers there (see List of Participants, pp. 244). The enthusiasm, initiative and dedication that they have shown over the years are reflected in improvements to the display and storage of artifacts, as well as in the lifelong experiences that they carry with them. Only the most recent can still be called students, as the rest have moved on to being professional colleagues who continue to serve in the museum conservation or research fields.



Figure 16.18. Using laptop computer to track location of glass fragments during restoration. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.19. Jim McCredie and Bonna Wescoat discussing the joining of two fragments of the block that originally supported the Nike. Photo Stephen Koob.



Figure 16.20. Jim McCredie demonstrating how to make an epigraphical "squeeze." Photo Stephen Koob.

I also thank Jim McCredie both for his initial invitation, and for his continuing efforts, support and enthusiasm in keeping this educational training program active. He is always generous with his time and expertise, often including conservation in on-site archaeological discussions and demonstrations (Figs 16.19–16.20). I also hold in the highest regard his resolve and commitment to the ongoing preservation of Samothrace's cultural heritage. Another bronze plaque outside the Museum entrance opposite to Dr. Lehmann's would be a fitting tribute to thank Jim McCredie for his commitment to archaeology and conservation, his dedication to training and education, and his professional and personal generosity.

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17. A Fayum Teacher's Manual, Alexandrian Pavilion Architecture, and Augustan Wall-painting

R. R. R. Smith

Introduction

A papyrus in Cairo preserves an architectural drawing of the 3rd century B.C. – a tabular construction supported by slender, decorated columns framing the reading exercises of a school teacher's handbook. My paper aims to bring this papyrus to wider attention among classical archaeologists, to attempt a reconstruction of its architectural frame, and to draw out some of its connections. The subject touches on some of our honorand's interests: classical education, Ptolemaic culture, and Hellenistic architecture. An Arsinoeion will be mentioned. The papyrus also provides, I think, a neglected perspective on Augustan ("third-style") wall-painting in Rome. The written contents of the papyrus have been extensively studied. The character and interest of its architectural frame, however, have received, as far as I know, no discussion.

The Papyrus and its Contents (Fig. 17.1)

The papyrus was bought on the market in Cairo in 1935 for the Egyptian Museum (inv. 65445) and published in exemplary fashion by O. Gueraud and P. Jouget in 1938 in a short monograph including ten facsimile plates that reproduce the whole extant papyrus at a scale of 1:1.¹ It comes almost certainly from the Fayum. What survives is the lower part of a nearly complete roll. The lower edge and the right-hand end are preserved. Some of the beginning is missing. With its joining leaves re-connected, the whole extant length is ca. 2.50 m, with only one short lacuna of 5–6 cm.

The original height of the roll is important for our assessment of the drawing. The maximum preserved height is 10.5 cm, which can be calculated to have been a little more than half the original height. One of the texts quoted over two columns of text, at lines 185–215, is known elsewhere (Athenaios 382c, from the comic poet Straton); and eleven lines are missing, so that, allowing for potential line omissions (the papyrus omits five lines from the text as quoted in Athenaios), the full height of the column of writing at lines 202–215 can be calculated to have been ca. 16–17 cm (allowing for 2–3 omitted lines in the missing upper part of the text).²

The papyrus itself is of medium quality, composed of irregular leaves (*kollēmata*). The writing is neat, regular, by a practiced hand, and to be dated on palaeographical grounds in the later 3rd century.³ The architectural frame, we will see, was presumably by the same hand, one less practiced at this kind of work.⁴ Quotation of two topical epigrams concerning Arsinoe (II or III) and Ptolemy (IV) are likely to be contemporary or near-contemporary and confirm the later 3rd century date.⁵

In form and content, the papyrus has two clearly divided parts. The first part lays out a series of syllabic exercises and numbers for teaching and reading practice. This part is articulated by the architectural frames and in total is ca. 120 cm wide. The second part (lines 126–242) is slightly longer (width ca. 130 cm) and contains an anthology of poetic texts arranged in plain text-columns, with only a thick horizontal line below that continues from the "architectural" part. The text ends with some more numbers (tens and hundreds, lines 216–234) and some currency fractions (of the drachma, lines 235–242), which are arranged in roughly drawn text-columns divided by thick plain vertical lines and some sketchy and poorly drawn horizontal lines forming a rough and irregular grid.

¹ Gueraud and Jouget 1938.

² Gueraud and Jouget 1938, pp. xii–xiii, 34–37.

³ Gueraud and Jouget 1938, p. xiv.

⁴ Gueraud and Jouget 1938, p. xiii: "... n'est pas exécutée avec beaucoup d'art ni même de soin."

⁵ Turner 1980, pp. 31–32, no. 34.

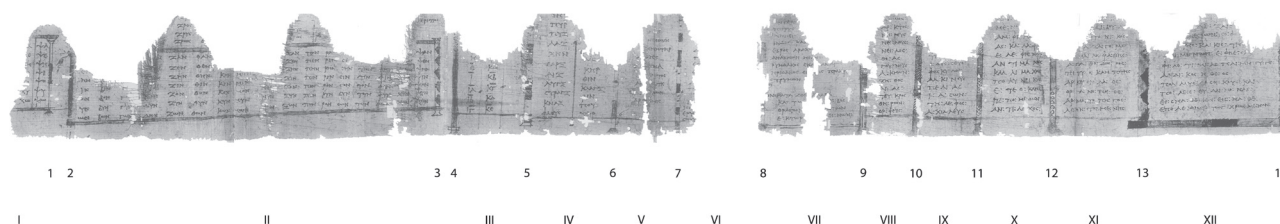


Figure 17.1. Papyrus, Cairo 65545, 3rd century B.C. Extant state, from left edge to end of architectural frame, columns 1–14. After Gueraud and Jouguet 1938, pls I–III.

The reading exercises in the first part range quickly from single-syllable starting exercises to more complicated names and poetic texts, with all the syllabic divisions marked. The second part contains advanced literary texts from Homer, Alexandrian epigrams, and New Comedy, all written without syllabic or word divisions. The papyrus is quite unlike regular school books in which pupils practiced writing and reading, so it was clearly not a schoolboy's exercise book, but something more unusual – a school teacher's manual with his favourite examples ready for a wide range of different reading levels (and age groups), from elementary to contemporary Ptolemaic court poetry.⁶ It is his favored syllabic exercises that he has arranged, articulated, highlighted by the decorated columnar frames and tabulae. The frame is unique in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri, and needs special explanation.

The distinction made by the architectural frame was probably between exercises that one might write out on a board for class instruction in reading, and exercises performed orally. This distinction is clear in the marking of syllabation in all items in the frame and lack of syllabation in the texts outside the frame. The drawn architecture may thus have functioned for the teacher like a representation of the items that were to be displayed as opposed to read aloud.⁷

In what follows, the preserved uprights of the architectural frame are numbered from left to right and referred to as columns 1–14, and the bays or tabulae they create are referred to as Panels I–XII (as marked on Fig. 17.1).

The elementary exercises probably began with the alphabet at the missing left end of the roll. The preserved part begins with a series of single-syllable exercises in two long low tabulae (Panels I–II). The single-syllable exercises continued above the preserved tabula (II) and seem to have ended with a list of Macedonian months (they are out of place in terms of difficulty of reading and were perhaps squeezed in a spare blank column). After the second tabula, begins a row of tall “architectural” columns (4–14) dividing the roll into a series of irregular panels (IV–XII) whose widths are adjusted to fit the varied line-lengths of the words and text they contain. This is important. It shows that the architectural frame was drawn by the writer of the text as he went along. The irregular lower border beneath each bay, clearly drawn after each text-column had been written, shows the same.

Panels III–IV, further subdivided by two fine vertical lines, listed first numbers 1–25, then a series of both common and unusual monsyllabic words (*rhin*, nose; *cheir*, hand; *aix*, eagle; *thēr*, beast; *knax*, *klangx* – these were elocution testers and points of discussion). Panels V–VI contain a list of gods, followed by a list of rivers that starts at the bottom of Panel VI and fills most of Panel VII. At the bottom of Panel VII starts a list of two-syllable names that continue onto VIII. Panels IX–XI list names of respectively three, four, and five syllables. The large Panel XII, the end of the syllabic reading section and of the architecture, framed as a more substantial tabula, contains two passages of continuous text with the word and syllable divisions marked. These texts are taken from two different plays of Euripides (*Phoinissai* and *Ino*).

The second, unframed part of the roll preserves a brief anthology of different genres of poetry and meters for more advanced reading, literary comment, and cultural education. There are six pieces:

⁶ Criore 1996, p. 269.

⁷ Compare Gueraud and Jouget 1938, p. xiii: “Cette disposition en tableaux, qui avait un intérêt pédagogique ...”. On vertical rulings and borders in school exercises on papyri, see Criore 1996, pp. 77–78. Note the author headings and brief descriptions of the contents of their works listed (painted) on the wall of a gymnasium library(?) in Tauromenium (Taormina, Sicily) in the 2nd century B.C.: Manganaro 1974; Blanck 1997.

- (1) *Odyssey* 5. 116–124, part of Calypso's speech on the double standards of the gods in sexual matters (lines 130–139);
- (2) an epigram on an elaborate monument with a fountain, dedicated to an Arsinoe (II or III) (lines 140–154);
- (3) an epigram on a monument to Homer set up by Ptolemy IV, alluding to his twin role as a warrior (perhaps in the victory at Raphia, 217) and as a poet (*ton ariston / en dori kai Mousais*) (lines 155–161);
- (4)–(5) one or two monologues by a cook(s) from New Comedy (lines 162–184);
- (6) a piece from *Phoinikides* by Straton, mentioned above, ridiculing the language of a cook (lines 182–215).

The two Ptolemaic court epigrams, of unknown authorship and unattested elsewhere, have naturally received the most literary comment. The first epigram is also of great general interest to the archaeologist and architectural historian. It is a detailed, difficult, and allusive poem about the architecture of an Arsinoeion that contains a marble fountain constructed in the Ionic order, a notable *kiōn* (probably an obelisk), and marble statues of Arsinoe and the Nymphs.⁸

In the present, more particular context, it is important to note two separate aspects of these epigrams. Firstly, our Fayum teacher has chosen for his school exercises two court poems celebrating near-contemporary Ptolemaic rulers. He was then, we should assume, close to loyalist high culture at Alexandria. Secondly, both epigrams concern built monuments that require considerable architectural explication. We may presume then he had seen, was interested in, and was able to speak about the architecture of these new monuments alluded to in the epigrams. The first epigram refers to statues, building materials, and various architectural components – among which columns play a significant part (lines 145–148). The second epigram is less well preserved but refers not only to a (surely *the*) Homereion erected by Ptolemy Philopator but also probably to the architect or sculptor of the monument (one Artemon, mentioned in line 157). Our teacher's choices then indicate an interest in new or recent Alexandrian architecture and a connection to or at least close familiarity with the forms of contemporary royal celebration in Alexandria – the contexts from which I suggest he has also drawn the vocabulary of the architectural frame that surrounds his syllabic exercises.

The Architectural Frame and Tabulae (Figs 17.2–17.7)

While the epigrams and the literary-pedagogical character of the papyrus have been the subject of detailed investigation, the architectural frame as mentioned earlier has not been studied. I offer here a description and restoration of the architectural components, in the form of a brief commented account of the supports **1–14** and two reconstruction drawings (Figs 17.2 and 17.7).

The architecture was outlined in the same dark ink that was used for the text and decorated with touches of red (“encadrements ornementés et rehaussés de rouge”).⁹ The main vertical lines of the vertical supports are drawn in fine lines with a ruler and sharp pen. Their simple capitals and bases are drawn free-hand. The internal decoration of the supports is also drawn free-hand, with solid blocks filled in roughly with the pen. Light areas of the design are simply reserved in the natural pale yellow of the papyrus. The horizontal members of Panels I and XII were drawn in the same way, with thin ruled lines. The lower horizontal borders of Panels III–XI are drawn free-hand with a single thicker line, except for Panel VII, which has two parallel free-hand lines.

Col. 1 supports the surviving right-hand end of a low screen panel with columns of monosyllables divided by a neat ruled line(s) (Fig. 17.3). This long panel took up less than half of the available height of the roll. The column (**1**) is divided into three tall horizontal “black and white” bands: reserved, solid, reserved. Its simple flaring base is also solid. The small capital has an additional “sofa” element that supports a heavier epistyle. The horizontal member below is attached immediately above the base. While the horizontal components read as square-section beams, the upright is probably to be taken as a round column rather than a pier. The banded column was one of the most common forms in the Egyptianizing vocabulary of Alexandrian architecture from the 3rd century onwards. It will be discussed more fully below.

Cols 2 and 3 frame a long low panel (H: 6.5, W: 33 cm) bordered above and below by heavy horizontals (see

⁸ See different and stimulating readings of Settis 1965, for Arsinoe III, and Ronchi 1968, for Arsinoe II, proposing interpretation as an obelisk for the single *kiōn*, mentioned emphatically at line 148 in a short, three-word sentence: *kionos hēde thesis*. “Here now is the foundation of the column/obelisk.”

⁹ Gueraud and Jouget 1938, p. xiii.

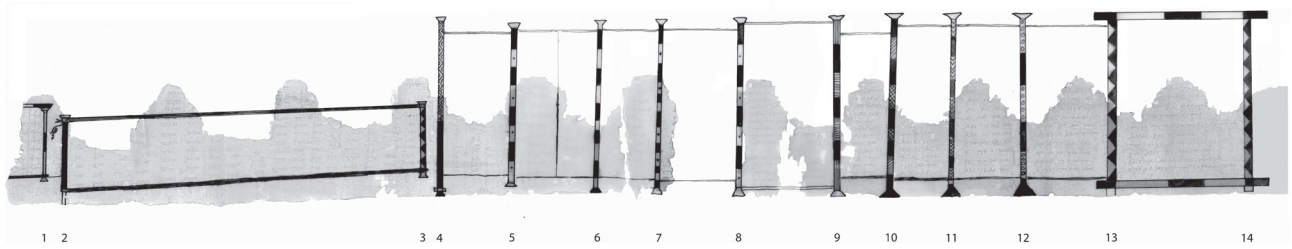


Figure 17.2 (above). Papyrus, Cairo 65545. Reconstruction of architectural frame, columns 1–14. Drawing R. R. R. Smith.

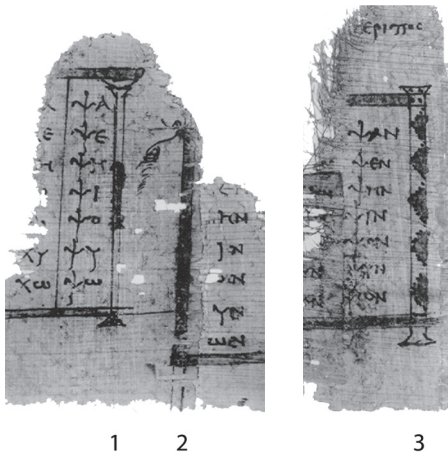


Figure 17.3 (left). Columns 1 and 2. Detail after Gueraud and Jouguet 1938, pl. I.

3

Figure 17.4 (right). Column 3. Detail after Gueraud and Jouguet 1938, pl. I.

Fig. 17.2). It carries the lists of monosyllables, arranged in seventeen text-columns of seven lines each.

Col. 2 is poorly articulated; its shaft seems to be filled in entirely (Fig. 17.3). It may have been meant as a pier. Its ruled contours continue carelessly below without a base (the third, faint line to the right is the joint of the first and second leaves of the roll). The lower horizontal member is attached directly over the end of the solid part of the column/pier. The top of the column is damaged. The upper horizontal member would have been attached to a reserved continuation of the column. There are slight remains of a capital above. From the outer side of the column, at the level of the top of the shaft, projects a scrolling tendril, in the form of a large *paragraphos* marking, as used elsewhere in the text. It has a broadly “acroterial,” though spectral effect.

Col. 3 is fully preserved and very interesting (Fig. 17.4). Its elaborate decoration might better suit a rectangular pier, while its simple flaring base might suggest a round column. Naturally in such a context, the draftsman did not have to specify which was intended. The small flaring capital is decorated with two dots, and below it a necking band is indicated, which corresponds to the junction with the upper horizontal member. The two dots on the necking band read then as bolts attaching this beam.

The shaft is decorated with a vertical zigzag pattern formed by alternating “black” and reserved “white” triangles. The (five) solid triangles at first read as a kind of vertically disposed crow-stepped crenellation pattern, but this is an illusion arising from the way the draftsman laid out his zigzag line. Instead of drawing a continuous free-hand line, for which his pen may not have been fine enough, he made a dotted line and then filled in the alternating triangles roughly, leaving the heavy dots visible, which read now as crowsteps. This zigzag and alternating triangle pattern was of course common in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and early Greek design, and it is occasionally found in reduced form in Hellenistic and Roman decorative borders (for example, around mosaics) but is difficult to find on independent vertical supports.¹⁰ It is an unusual pattern for architecture and in the Hellenistic context of our papyrus was probably part of a vocabulary thought to be Egyptianizing by Alexandrian designers, or at least thought by our school teacher to be Alexandrian-Egyptianizing. It recurs in the uprights (13–14) supporting Panel XII.

¹⁰ For variety of zigzag patterns in Egyptian ornament: Fortova-Samalova and Vilimkova 1963, pls 7–14, 16, 61–62. Rare examples in later Greek-Roman sphere: Richter 1966, fig. 591 (fragment of woven fabric from the Crimea, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg), and fig. 405 (miniature terracotta chest from Smyrna, in the Louvre). Common later in architectural design of the medieval period – for example, in the cathedral at Monreale in Sicily.

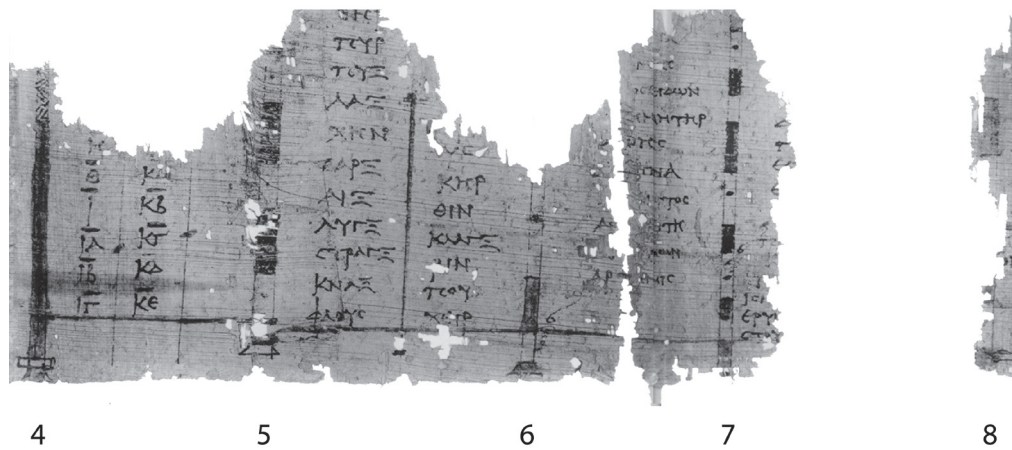


Figure 17.5. Columns 4–8. After Gueraud and Jouguet 1938, pl. II.

At column 4 begins the tall set of framed panels, with columns rising probably the full height of the text, for a column height of perhaps ca. 15 cm (Fig. 17.5). The columns are loosely spaced according to the texts they frame.

Col. 4 has a flaring round base, with a curious rectangular reserved cross-piece positioned immediately above the base. This detail has little architectural or decorative sense. More than half the shaft is preserved: it has a plain filled-in lower part and a badly drawn vertical zigzag pattern in the upper part. This time the zigzag pattern is drawn entirely in reserved line. On the banded columns, the bands seem to be intended as approximately equal in height. If so, this column shaft would have had only these two bands – solid below, zigzag on a reserved ground above. On this calculation the column height would have been ca. 14.5 cm without the capital. Slender proportions and probably similar capitals go back as far as the engaged papyrus columns of Zoser's mortuary complex at Saqqara.¹¹

The next four columns (5–8) formed a rough group of horizontally banded “black and white” columns. They have some casual variations. Columns 5 and 8 are thicker (shaft “diameter:” 0.55 cm), columns 6 and 7 are thinner (shaft “diameter:” 0.30 cm), and they have varied banding. Column 5 has a small plain base, set too high, and a shaft decorated with more or less equal solid and reserved bands, starting reserved close to the horizontal border. Column 8 is poorly preserved but seems to have been like column 5. Of the two thinner “internal” columns of this group, 6 and 7, column 6 has a solid flaring base, a reserved first band below the lower horizontal, then a solid band above it. (Above this point, the column is poorly preserved but the banding seems to break down.)

Col. 7 has better preserved banding, reversing the sequence of column 6 – solid above the base (missing), then reserved above its lower horizontal. The bands are also shorter and more irregular. We see here most clearly another decorative feature, shared by 5 and 7: a large dot placed centrally in each of the reserved bands.

In the middle of Panel IV, framed by columns 5 and 6, we may note the text divider – a sharp, needle-like line, thicker above, pointed below, with a small base and some kind of finial. It reads like a distant and simplified echo of the stalks found commonly in third-style Roman wall-painting.

Cols 9 to 12 stand more or less on the same line, close to the lower edge of the papyrus (Figs 17.6–17.7). They seem all to have had bases, now damaged or smudged at the lower edge of the roll. The bases are broad and flaring. The columns are again banded but with further and varied patterns. Our draftsman, perhaps bored with plain “black and white” bands, was now drawing deeper on his unconscious memory of contemporary decorative forms.

Col. 9 preserves less than half its height, with three different bands: the lowest has poorly drawn vertical stripes or flutes; the second is solid; and the third, poorly preserved, had horizontal stripes.

Col. 10 preserves six approximately equal alternating bands of solid colour and closely drawn diagonal hatching. The lowest hatched band has single diagonal lines, wrapping around the column. The two upper bands

¹¹ Engaged columns in Zoser's complex: Lange and Hirmer 1968, pp. 398–401, pl. 12.

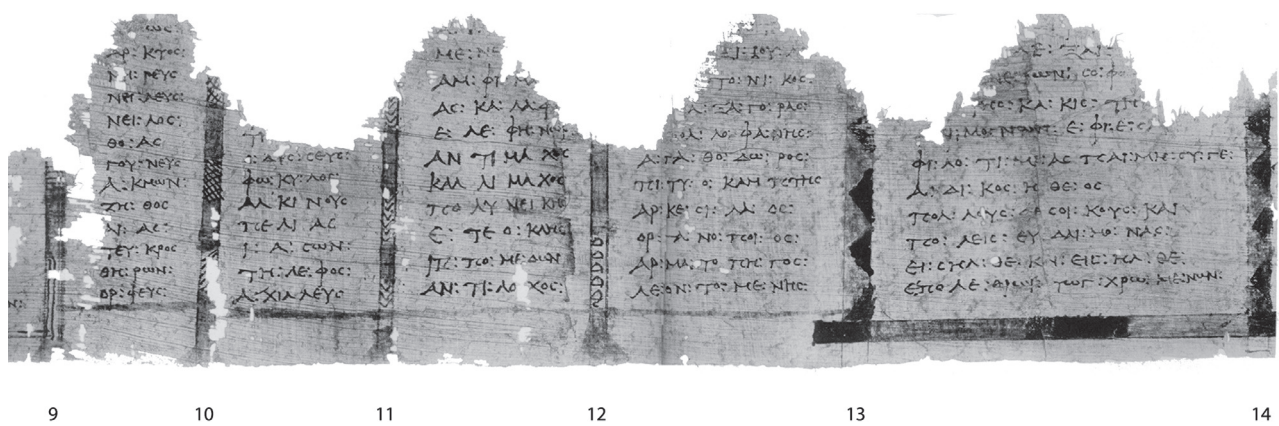


Figure 17.6. Columns 9–14. After Gueraud and Jouguet 1938, pl. III.

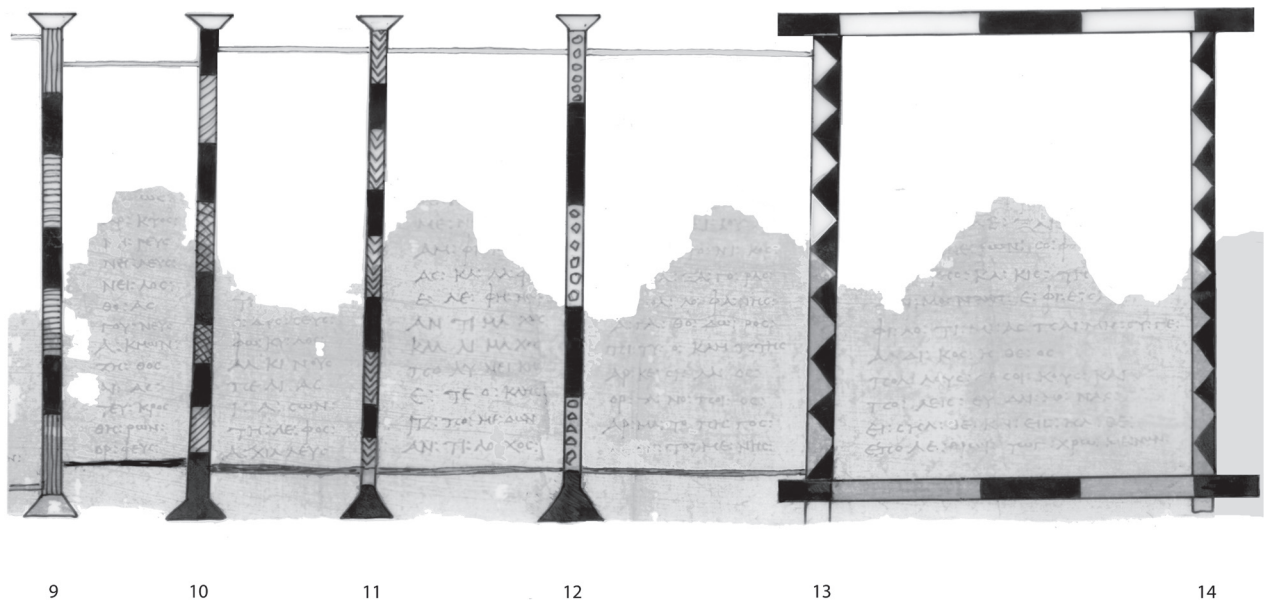


Figure 17.7. Reconstruction of columns 9–14. Drawing R. R. R. Smith.

have tight cross-hatching. The cross-hatching could conceivably have been intended as abstract decoration, but more likely it is a short-hand representation of the palm-tree form of Ptolemaic pavilion columns, attested in Athenaios, and found later in Roman wall-painting (Figs 17.10B and 17.11).¹²

Col. 11 preserves a similar sequence of six alternating bands of solid color and vertically-stacked V-shaped chevrons. The latter are probably to be understood as horizontal zigzags going around the column – a common motif in Egyptian decoration.¹³

Col. 12 preserves two full bands, solid above a reserved band decorated with five irregular “rings” drawn in outline and arranged vertically. It is difficult to be sure, but the rings or “eyes” perhaps read most easily as gemstones set as ornaments in the column. This type of column decoration goes back as far as Alexander, and has a long history into the Roman and late antique periods.¹⁴

The last panel (XII), framed by 13 and 14 and containing the last syllabic exercise in two passages of

¹² Palm columns. Kallixeinos in Athenaios 196b–c: below. Roman wall-painting: Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, pls 5, 10, 12, 16–17 (Boscotrecase, Black Room); De Vos 1980, pl. III (Villa of the Mysteries, tablinum); Ehrhardt, pl. 105, figs 424–425 (Villa Imperiale, Room C).

¹³ For Egyptian columns: Arnold 1994, pp. 221–223, pl. 40.

¹⁴ *Dialithoi*: Athenaios 538d and note 19 below.

Euripides, has a more substantial aspect and is connected to the previous panel by a lower horizontal line in a purely informal manner (Figs 17.6–17.7). It is a heavier rectangular tabula without architectural bases for the uprights. The lower horizontal member is of the same thickness (0.70 cm) as the uprights and is drawn in the same way, in ruled lines. The uprights and the lower frame overlap each other at the corners, as commonly on ancient tabulae, both represented and surviving.¹⁵ The lower border was decorated with five plain bands of alternating light and dark: two solid bands mark the overlap with the uprights, with two broader light and one dark band in between. The uprights **13** and **14** are decorated with the same vertical zigzag motif and alternating light and dark triangles as **3**, except that here the pattern is on a larger scale and more clearly articulated.

Ptolemaic, Egyptian, and Roman Connections

The purpose of the architectural frame in the papyrus seems to have been, as discussed earlier, for the teacher to organize his favorite syllabic reading exercises in tables in a highlighted version of the way that they might be deployed on a classroom board. We have seen from the accommodation of the architecture to the changing text widths that the teacher-writer also drew the frame as he proceeded. The drawings are neither random doodles – though they perhaps share with a doodler's more sustained products a liking for an evolving variety of effects, often auto-generated from a given point of departure. Nor are they “architectural drawings” in the sense of considered graphic representations of real or realisable structures or decorative systems.

They do have however some verifiable connections to contemporary and later decorative architecture and framing systems. We should imagine then, without taking everything as precise evidence for lost architectural schemes, that our writer-teacher drew consciously or unconsciously on a range of contemporary design – for example, pavilions, furniture, wall decoration, picture frames. Since few such contemporary products survive, the papyrus has for us considerable value. Our knowledge of such 3rd-century Alexandrian design is either literary or later.

The architecture of the papyrus drawings connects directly with three separate sets of evidence. Each set of representation, like the papyrus, was drawing, in its own way and for its own purposes, on a 3rd-century Alexandrian design repertoire. The three sets of evidence are: (1) Athenaios, (2) Greco-Egyptian tomb art, and (3) Roman wall-painting.

Athenaios. The descriptions of 3rd-century Ptolemaic royal design by Kallixeinos of Rhodes (2nd century B.C.), quoted by Athenaios in his *Deipnosophistai* (3rd century A.D.), offer the earliest and highest level connections with our papyrus. Though of course non-visual, there are points of close contact with our teacher's sketches.

The great royal dining pavilion (*skēnē*, Athenaios 196a–b) built by Ptolemy II Philadelphos in conjunction with the celebration of a festival in honor of his parents in the 270s (which festival and at which date are disputed questions) and the vast Nile yacht, called “the cabin-cruiser” (literally: “cabin-carrier,” *potamion ploion*, *tēn thalamegon kaloumenēn*: Athenaios 204d) built by Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204), were clearly immensely impressive constructions. They displayed the highest design and craft that was at the king's command and they surely had a big impact on contemporaries – our teacher-sketcher included. The descriptions preserved in Athenaios are well known.¹⁶ I quote only the parts that make contact with the papyrus.

Philadelphos' 130-couch dining pavilion was supported by
 “wooden columns ... five on each long side, fifty cubits in height, four on each short side, on which was fitted a square/rectangular epistyle. Four of the columns (at the corners) were made like palm trees, the inner columns had the appearance (*phantasia*) of thyrsos.” (Athenaios 196b–c)

From this we learn that the design employed tall, slender, widely spaced wooden columns with rectangular-section (wooden) horizontal members, and that the columns were carved or decorated in the form of palm trees and fennel stalks. The casual use of the term *phantasia*, “imaginative realisation” of thyrsos, perhaps refers to that “fantastic” spindly unbuildable character that later writers complained about in this kind of architectural vocabulary.¹⁷

The papyrus sketch borrows the effect of slender wooden pavilion architecture. It has square-section epistyles

¹⁵ Tabulae: for example, Walker and Bierbrier 1997, p. 121, no. 117.

¹⁶ Athenaios: Braund and Wilkins 2000. Kallixeinos: Fraser 1972, II, pp. 738–739 n. 152; Rice 1983. Philadelphos' *skēnē*: Studniczka 1914. Philopator's yacht: Caspari 1916. Most recent reconstructions of *skēnē* and yacht: Pfrommer 1999.

¹⁷ Vitruvius 7.5.3–5, writing of architectural designs in contemporary wall-painting: “... instead of columns there rise up stalks, instead of pediments, striped panels with curled leaves and volutes ... Such things neither are, can be, nor have been.”

fitted on top of Panels I–II and probably XII. The diagonal grid pattern, or regular cross-hatching, on the banded column **9** is almost certainly a reminiscence of a decorative palm-tree finish (see above, n. 12).

The main or largest cabin of Philopator's river yacht also had wooden columns, with a gilded Corinthian order (Athenaios 205c). The main point of connection here is in the Egyptian dining room on the upper deck:

“The dining room with nine couches (was) Egyptian in the disposition of its decoration (*sumposion enne[a?]klinon tēi diathesei tēs kataskeuēs Aiguption*). For the columns here bulged as they ascend, and the drums differed, one being black and another white, placed alternately. Some of their capitals are circular... (there follows a detailed description of the differences of Egyptian capitals from Greek capitals) ... and the walls, too, they vary with alternating white and black courses of stone.” (Athenaios 206a–c)

The ponderous description of the columns tapering the “wrong” way and of the Egyptian leaf capitals suggests that this Egyptian cabin may have been in a more pharaonic manner (though hardly truly or strictly pharaonic) than either Philadelphos' pavilion or our teacher's sketches, but the banded black and white columns mentioned are a clear point of contact with the papyrus. The further discussion of Egyptian architecture and wall construction by Kallixeinos shows that contemporary Greek observers thought that this was a defining feature of pharaonic design. In the papyrus, columns **1** and **5–8** have plain black and white banding. Columns **4, 9, 10, 11**, and **12** have some kind of horizontal banding, and **3, 13** and **14** have an alternating black and white motif. Of the two surviving capitals, one (**3**) is very simple, the other (**1**) is round like the Egyptian capital described by Kallixeinos.

Philadelphos' *skēnē* had been preceded by Alexander's and by Achaemenid Persian pavilions used for celebrations and holding court.¹⁸ They, too, had been tall wooden structures with canopies and hangings. One of Alexander's *skēnai* is described at Athenaios 538b–540a. It was built for the Susa wedding party and is described as having “columns thirty feet high, gilded, silvered, and studded with jewels” (*dialithoi*: Athenaios 538d). Column **12** in the papyrus, as mentioned earlier, may carry a casual reminiscence of such gem-studded column decoration, which is well attested later both in wall-painting and in real luxury architecture in Rome.¹⁹

Greco-Egyptian tomb art (Fig. 17.8). The funerary art of Egypt in the Hellenistic and Roman periods also provides some connections. The evidence here is mostly later, but from the same broad geo-cultural environment as the papyrus. The extensive remains of engaged and painted architecture in Alexandrian tombs have several repeated components in common, such as some plain flaring capitals and, most notably, banded black and white columns.²⁰ Later, some of the more elaborate Greco-Egyptian linen shrouds have several points of contact. I pick two examples:

- (1) A shroud in the British Museum (EG Inv. 26453) has similar banded black and white columns framing the deceased's mummy, crowned with round (leaf) capitals.²¹ Both the columns and the capitals are very like those of columns **1** and **5–8** on the papyrus.
- (2) A linen shroud from Antinoe, in the Louvre (AF 6486), frames a deceased child between two pencil columns decorated in reserved lines (Fig. 17.8), similar in motif and style to the papyrus's columns **9** and **10**.²² The columns have tall bands of diagonal “stripes,” like one of the lower bands of column **10** (poorly preserved, but clearly the same pattern). These bands are divided by short bands of horizontal stripes, close to those preserved on column **9** before it breaks off above.

Roman wall-painting (Figs 17.9–17.11). Wide contacts are found outside Hellenistic-Roman Egypt, in Roman wall-painting of the early imperial period. It has long been recognized that a wave of visibly pharaonic Egyptian decorative components swept through Roman house decoration in the Augustan period – in a similar way that chinoiserie was taken up in 18th-century European house-decor.²³ What is less recognized, indeed contested, is the role of Alexandrian (as opposed to pharaonic) decorative components and ideas in the creation of the basic architectural framework of these new Augustan wall systems, known today as the “third style.” I mean

¹⁹ Gem-studded columns in painted architecture at Oplontis: De Franciscis 1975, pls 17 and 23. And in real decoration in the suburban imperial villa on the Esquiline in Rome: La Rocca and Cima 1986, pp. 105–150, with full discussion.

²⁰ Alexandrian tombs: Venit 2002, p. 72, fig. 55 (Ras El Tin Tomb 8), p. 82, figs 66–67 (Anfushy II), pp. 85–90, figs 72–75, color pl. IV (Anfushy V, with palm trees in Room 5).

²¹ Parlasca 1966, pl. 58.1, late Hellenistic, early Roman.

²² Aubert and Cortopassi 1998, p. 123, no. 73, early 3rd century A.D.

²³ Egyptomania in Augustan Rome: De Vos 1980; Versluys 2002.



Figure 17.8. Linen shroud from Antinoe, early 3rd century A.D. Paris, Louvre (AF 6486). After Guimet 1912, pl. 39.

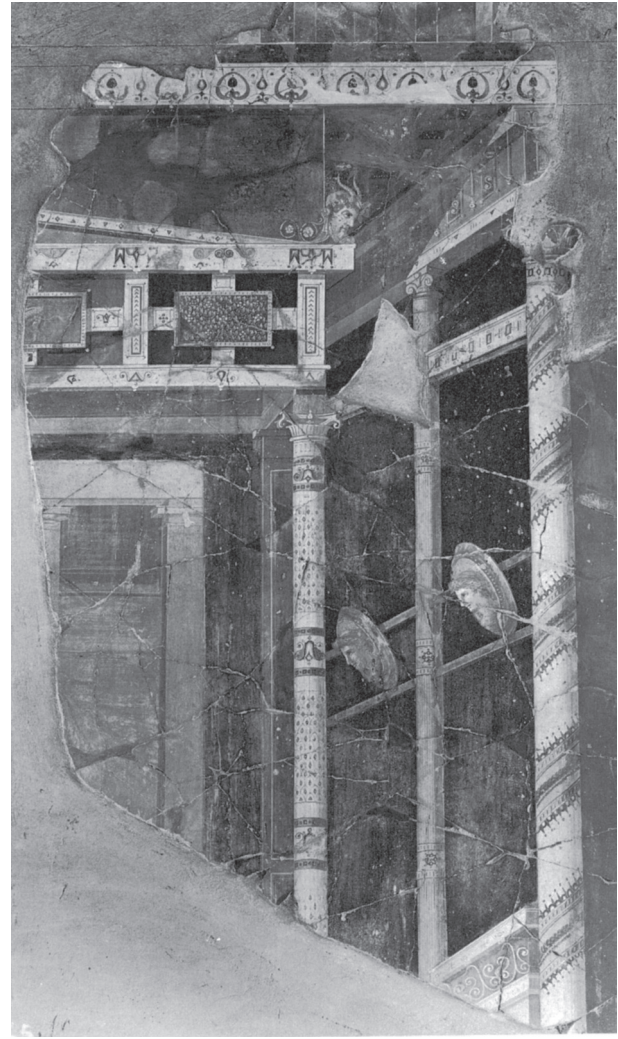


Figure 17.9. Wall-painting design in manner of wooden pavilion architecture, with banded "pencil" columns and thin bracing struts carrying shield busts. Pompeii I.9.1, tablinum (2). Late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D. After Ehrhardt 1987, fig. 174.

the whole distinctive package of slender pavilion architecture with patterned pencil columns and banded decoration, combined with bowdlerized pharaonic-Egyptianizing figured components – as opposed simply to the explicitly pharaonic-Egyptianizing components on their own.

Here our papyrus school manual may have something to offer. It shares with third-style wall-painting schemes in Italy a number of general and particular features. Such general features are: a mannered deployment of tall, slender, widely spaced pencil columns, sometimes banded, sometimes "wrapped" with variegated motifs, supporting square-section horizontals that often overlap the uprights or float in uncertain or unexpected relation to them; and an appearance of light, delicate, obviously wooden pavilion architecture, often functioning as a frame for something else (texts in the papyrus, pictures in Roman wall-painting) (Figs 17.9–17.10).²⁴

Particular shared motifs include: wide, flaring bases for the columns (that often read in the wall-paintings as metal "shoes" for the wooden columns: Fig. 17.11A); horizontally and spirally banded columns (Figs 17.9 and 17.10A) and columns with palm-bark finishes (Figs 17.10B and 17.11).²⁵

These shared aspects suggest, of course, not a direct link between the Ptolemaic papyrus and Roman walls, but some kind of genetic relationship or descent. For many scholars, the third-style wall-systems emerged and developed incrementally out of the late Republican "second style."²⁶ This view, it might be

²⁴ Third-style wall-painting: Bastet and De Vos 1979; Ehrhardt 1987; Ling 1991, ch. 4.

²⁵ For these motifs, see the excellent collection of column details in Ehrhardt 1987, pls 95–118. Palm motif: note 12 above.

²⁶ Compare Ling 1991, p. 52.



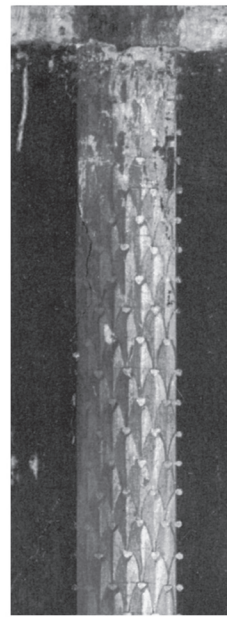
A



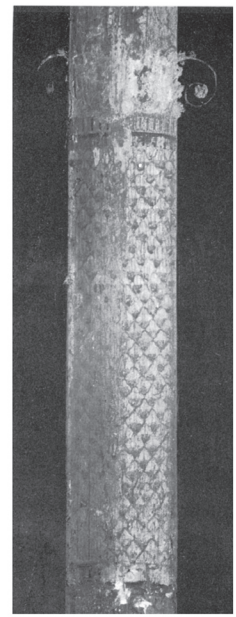
B



A



B



C

Figure 17.10. Details of columns in Augustan wall-painting. A: Banded and 'wrapped' columns. Pompeii IX.1.22, triclinium. Detail after Ehrhardt 1987, fig. 189. B: Banded palm column. Boscotrecase, Black Room (15). Detail after Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990, pl. 10.1.

Figure 17.11. Details of palm columns in Augustan wall-painting at Pompeii. A: Villa of Mysteries, tablinum (2). Detail after De Vos 1980, pl. III. B–C: Villa Imperiale, Room C. After Ehrhardt 1987, figs 424–425.

argued, misses the radical novelty and oppositional character of the new decoration. The new style replaced the heavy, sumptuous, built or buildable monumental architecture of, say, Oplontis, with the light, wooden pavilion effects of, say, Boscotrecase.²⁷ Different color schemes, different principles of wall decoration, and different vocabularies of architecture and of decorative motifs are suddenly in play. Detailed chronologies of the surviving wall-paintings cannot help: the current stylistic chronologies all assume answers to precisely the questions that are here at stake.

While the new painted wall-systems are, of course, thoroughly "Augustan" in their creation, in their combinations of elements, and in their total effect, the descriptions of Kallixeinos preserved in Athenaios combined with the vocabulary that is assumed so casually by our teacher-sketcher suggest many general aspects and some specific features were already available, notably in 3rd-century Alexandria, but were only now taken up by Augustan-period interior designers in Italy.

Two obvious complementary and independent circumstances might help explain this sudden revolution in domestic decor in Italy and Rome. One is the deep-seated change in social mentalities and aspirations that came with the Augustan new order. The other is the precisely contemporary availability of designers and painters from Alexandria seeking new work and new patrons in Italy after the sudden termination of the Ptolemaic kingdom in 30 B.C. Alexandria and Egypt became the personal zone of the emperor; high-ranking Romans (senators and wealthy *equites*) were banned from going there without the emperor's permission; and the province was governed, uniquely, by an imperially-appointed prefect of equestrian rank.²⁸ The glittering cultural production of the capital of the eastern Mediterranean, which Augustan propaganda represented as a place of sedition and licentious crime, was summarily shut down or sharply reduced.

²⁷ Oplontis: De Franciscis 1975. Boscotrecase: Blanckenhagen and Alexander 1990.

²⁸ Bowman 1996, pp. 37–38.

Conclusion

The easy familiarity of a Fayum school-teacher in the later 3rd century B.C. with the same basic aesthetic vocabulary of pavilion architecture that we see in a greatly more enriched and detailed form on Augustan house walls suggests the origin of that vocabulary was in 3rd-century Ptolemaic Alexandria. The choice of topical epigrams in praise of the Ptolemies centered around built monuments (an Arsinoeion and a Homereion) for his reading and literary exercises, we saw, shows that the draftsman-teacher was both fully conversant with the media of Alexandrian court celebration and interested in and familiar with the novelties of Alexandrian building styles.

The papyrus is our earliest glimpse of a striking, novel, and influential form of early Hellenistic architecture and design. It is visual evidence of the 3rd century B.C. for the light slender pavilion-style architecture with light Egyptianizing features (such as banded decoration) described by Kallixeinos in the 2nd century B.C. and preserved for us in Athenaios. It provides some neglected concrete evidence for the origin and contemporary resonance in early Hellenistic Alexandria of much more of Augustan "third-style" wall-painting than merely its pharaonic-style elements. It may not be too much to claim our Fayum teacher's manual as a modest missing link between a specifically Alexandrian form of design and Augustan wall-painting.

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18. Homer in Florina

Ioannis Akamatis

θεὸς εὖφρων
εἴη λοιπαῖς εὐχαῖς·
ἐπεὶ νιν αἰνέω, μάλα μὲν τροφαῖς ἐτοῖμον ἵππων,
χαίροντά τε ξενίαις πανδόκοις,
καὶ πρὸς Ἑσυχίαν φιλόπολιν καθαῖρ᾽ γνώμα τετραμμένον.
οὐ ψεύδεϊ τέγξω
λόγον· διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος·

Pindar, *Olympian Ode 4* (Loeb Classical Library)

May the god look favorably
on his future prayers,
for I praise him, a most zealous raiser of horses,
delighting in acts of all-welcoming hospitality,
and devoted to city-loving Hesychia with a sincere mind.
I will not taint my account
with a lie; trial is truly the test of mortals

(Translated by W. H. Race)

South of the city of Florina, during the excavation of the ancient city on the hill of Agios Panteleimon, four irregular fragments of a moldmade vessel came to light preserving a fraction of a relief scene inspired by the Homeric cycle of poems.¹

The ancient city is situated to the south of modern Florina, about 17 km from the Greek guard post of Nike on the frontier with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). The remains spread along the northeastern ridge of a thickly wooded range of mountains whose eastern section today comprises the official archaeological site of the city (Fig. 18.1). Human habitation in this area is attested by archaeological finds from the Late Bronze Age. With the exception of the early Iron Age, human activity seems to have continued uninterrupted down to the present. Walls built of limestone blocks on the summit of the hill, the Koula, most likely belong to the Byzantine period,² while a number of Byzantine and post-Byzantine sherds, coins, and scattered burials speak for the continuous use of the area. On the highest terrace of the hill, immense trapezoidal

¹ The fragments (excavation inventory no. 2005.62) were found on July 4, 2005. I am indebted to Stefanie Kennell who translated from the Greek and provided useful suggestions. For discussion and help on a variety of matters I am grateful to Elektra Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni, Stella Drougou, Liana Gellou, Alexandros Laftsidis, Vasilis Prappas, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Michalis Tiverios. I also thank Georgia Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Maria Lilimpaki-Akamati for their assistance and encouragement.

² Papadakis 1913, p. 438; Keramopoulos 1932a, pp. 77–78; Keramopoulos 1934, p. 51; Konstantinidis 1960, pp. 18 and 29; Tsiplakou 1999, p. 576. The name of the city remains unknown. Keramopoulos (1935, pp. 60–67) identified the remains at Florina with Heraclea Lyncestis, a view initially accepted by many scholars. The question of the location of Heraclea was finally resolved in 1959 with the discovery of a decree of the Heracleans in the archaeological site located about 2 km south of the modern city of Bitola in FYROM, which is where scholars now definitively situate Heraclea Lyncestis. The decree reads as follows: Β(ουλῆ) Δ(ῆμος)/κατὰ τὸ δόξαν/ τῇ βουλῇ/ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ/ Σεπτιμίων/ Αὐρηλίων/ Ἡρακλεωτῶν/ Σεπτίμιον/ Ἰουλιανὸν/ Σεπτιμία/ Φλ(αβία) Φίλιπ/ πα τὸν υἱὸν/ ἦθους καὶ εὐ/ πεδευσίας ἔ/ νεκα. For a full publication of the decree, see Papazoglou 1961, pp. 162–175; this Heraclea is discussed in Papazoglou 1988, pp. 259–268.



Figure 18.1. Florina, the Hellenistic city: aerial view from the east (A = findspot of the krater). Photo I. M. Akamatis.

blocks have been interpreted as part of a fortification enclosure.³ On the opposite end, at the bottom of the northeast slope of the hill, a section of the Hellenistic city's cemetery has been located, with rock-cut chamber tombs of the later Hellenistic period.⁴

On the north side of the hill, where the Xenia Hotel used to be, near the chapel of Agios Panteleimon that gave the hill its name, the first systematic excavations were carried out by A. Keramopoulos and G. Bakalakis from 1930 to 1934. This was the first time that a section of the ancient city was revealed; these remains, however, were destroyed almost entirely in the 1950s when the Xenia Hotel was built.⁵

The destruction of a section of the ancient city in order to build a structure in a farmer's field on the eastern side of the hill finally provided the impetus for declaring the area an archaeological site and undertaking a new campaign of archaeological excavations, which started in the early 1980s and continued intermittently for short periods in the years that followed with limited funding, mainly provided by the Ministry of Macedonia-Thrace.⁶ Archaeological work in this area was intensified due to the enlargement of the excavation, the comprehensive conservation of the architectural remains, and the development of the site through integration into the 2nd and 3rd European Union Structural Funds within the Regional Operational Programs of Western Macedonia.⁷

³ Keramopoulos 1932a, pp. 74–75, fig. 2.

⁴ The graves were confined to places that had been cleared of rocks in the area NW of the modern cemetery before the First World War. Three were underground rock-cut tombs, one of which was excavated: Keramopoulos 1934, p. 53; Bakalakis 1935, pp. 113–114. Cf. also Konstantinidis 1960, pp. 24–26.

⁵ For earlier research on the city, which included the part destroyed by the construction of the hotel, see Keramopoulos 1932a; 1932b; 1934, pp. 48–78; 1935; Bakalakis 1934; 1935.

⁶ The leveling work occurred in the summer of 1981. The first survey of the field was made on September 1, 1981, by I. Akamatis and M. Vojatzki; the latter also took part in the first excavation season with M. Lilimpaki-Akamati in the following year.

⁷ The architect-engineers Z. al Saajiah and M. Korres prepared the drawings for the development and presentation of the Hellenistic city, which included the recently excavated section, with I. Akamatis and M. Lilimpaki-Akamati being responsible for the scholarly documentation. L. Gellou participated in the project providing essential assistance. For preliminary reports, see Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2001, pp. 592–593; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2007, pp. 569–577; Akamati-Lilimpaki and Akamatis 2006, pp. 43–45; 65–67.



Figure 18.2. Florina, the Hellenistic city: walkway through the archaeological site. Photo I. M. Akamatis.

Within the context of these public works, the site was fenced, pathways to facilitate the movement of visitors were created, service areas were constructed, a roof to protect the more vulnerable remains was built, and a fair number of information boards were placed both at the entrance and at selected rest stops to enable an overview of the ruins and of the surrounding area (Fig. 18.2).⁸

The excavated archaeological site encompasses an area of approximately 8,000 m² (8 *stremmata*).⁹ The city grid consists of large blocks (*insulae*) separated by main traffic arteries 3 m wide that run east-west and north-south and by narrower secondary roads 1 to 1.5 m wide which give access to individual properties and thus subdivide the blocks into smaller sections (Fig. 18.3).¹⁰ Smaller alleyways, 0.60 m wide, also served to separate properties and to allow for rainwater runoff. The city grid betrays the influence of the so-called Hippodamian system of town planning, characteristic of the great urban centers of the Hellenistic period such as Pella (Fig. 18.4). Beneath the closely-set pavement of the sloping major traffic arteries are drainage conduits with walls built of rough stones or rectangular blocks, often covered with stone slabs or roof tiles. The existence of a water supply system was revealed by the discovery of clay pipes in the east-west streets with north-south branches.

In the city blocks containing the best preserved architectural remains, up to five houses have been discovered,

⁸ With the development of the archaeological site, following expropriations of an area totaling 28,500 m², the Hellenistic city at Florina became the first archaeological site open to the public in the prefecture of Florina. The site and recently renovated Museum of Florina constitute the first available focal point for the study of antiquity in the region.

⁹ The archaeological site includes the section investigated from 1982 to 2006.

¹⁰ Archaeological reports on the more recent investigations: Akamati-Lilimpaki and Vojiatzi 1989; Akamati-Lilimpaki and Akamatis 1989; Adam-Veleni and Akamati-Lilimpaki 1987, pp. 6–7; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 1993; Akamatis and Lilimbaki-Akamati, 1996; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2001; Lilimbaki-Akamati 2002; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2007; Akamati-Lilimpaki and Akamatis 2006. See also *AR* 2000–2001, p. 96; *BCH* 117 (1993) pp. 842–843; *BCH* 122 (1998) p. 852; *BCH* 125 (2001) p. 933. Archaeologists L. Gellou, A. Kayiouli, N. Poulakakis, I. Tsokianou, and E. Naoum provided assistance in the field. Z. al Saaiyah and (in the early stages) O. Persidou prepared the architectural drawings and plans.



Figure 18.3. Florina, the Hellenistic city: partial view with a road running east-west. Photo I. M. Akamatis.



Figure 18.4. Florina, the Hellenistic city: aerial view of the central section of the city. Photo I. M. Akamatis.



Figure 18.5. Florina, the Hellenistic city: view from the south-southwest. Photo I. M. Akamatis.

each with three to five rooms. The walls of the houses, 0.45–0.50 m thick, were built of rough stones without any binding agent to a height of approximately 1–2 m, depending on the slope of the ground. The remaining part of the superstructure was of mudbrick. A fair number of walls were coated with white plaster, and in a few cases fragments of multicolored plaster have also been preserved. The rooms usually had dirt floors, but in a fair number of cases were shown to have been covered with densely-packed bits of tile laid on their edges or natural pebbles of neutral color, while large spaces, usually unroofed, were also floored with stone slabs (Fig. 18.5). Roofing was done with Laconian-style tiles, some of which show interesting incised or stamped markings, such as the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ.¹¹ Nearly all the houses had storerooms

¹¹ The tiles stamped with the name of King Philip turned up in various buildings, also with the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ λαϊά; see Bakalakis 1935, pp. 104–113, where the stamps from a total of 11 Laconian roof tiles are examined. These stamped tiles are also discussed briefly in Keramopoulos 1935 (pp. 66–67, fig. 6), who attributes them to the time of Philip II and regards the find as an additional strong



Figure 18.6. Florina, the Hellenistic city: bronze Eros attached to a vessel. Photo M. Stefanidis.



Figure 18.7. Florina, the Hellenistic city: moldmade amphora with a relief scene of the sack of Troy. Photo M. Stefanidis.

with large clay storage pots (pithoi) still in situ where foodstuffs were kept. On the rims of two pithoi, the names ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥ and ΑΜΜΙΑ can be read.¹² More often, however, the rims of the pithoi are incised with signs related to their capacity. Nearly all houses have hearths, and some have metalworking installations, mainly for iron, but sometimes for bronze as well. There were also workshops for the manufacture of vessels and figurines, as indicated by their debris.¹³

During the excavation of the city a great number of clay vases, figurines, and metal objects was found (Fig. 18.6). For the relief vases, a close relationship with the ceramic workshops at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, has been ascertained. Their decorative subjects are drawn from the plant world or inspired by Greek mythology and literature (mainly the capture of Troy) or they carry erotic scenes (Fig. 18.7). Ritual objects, including those possessing symbolic character such as incense-burners and clay figurines, bear witness to the worship of divinities of the Greek pantheon, while imported objects such as transport amphoras for wine not only from Thasos, Rhodes, and Kos but also from the Italian peninsula, as well as an assortment of coins, indicate extensive commercial traffic, mainly with cities in Macedonia but also the wider Greek and Roman world.

The earliest pottery found in stratified contexts is dated to shortly before the middle of the 4th century B.C., and consequently the settlement's establishment must have been part of the network of organizing cities in Upper Macedonia in the time of Philip II. The city, whose name is still unknown, was initially destroyed by fire around the second half of the 2nd century B.C. and finally abandoned after suffering total devastation, probably connected with the succession of foreign raids in the first half of the 1st century B.C.¹⁴

argument in favor of the identification of the city with Heraclea Lyncestis; see also note 2 above. For arguments for the identification of the Hellenistic city at Florina with Heraclea, see mainly Keramopoulos 1935, pp. 60–67. A limited number of tiles with the same stamps were found during the more recent excavations in the city: Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2001, p. 590; Akamati-Lilimpaki and Akamatis 2006, p. 24 (plate).

¹² Akamatis and Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, pp. 22 and 24 (plate); Akamati-Lilimpaki and Akamatis 2006, pp. 27 and 57 (plate).

¹³ Near the center of the excavated area of the city, in the southwest corner of a house, a metalworking furnace was discovered, damaged by looters: Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 1993, p. 70. In many cases, fragments of vases were found containing residue from iron and bronze casting. Bits of slug and lumps of lead show that metal was being processed. The presence of slug does not exclude the possibility that silver was also refined by the removal of lead using the cupellation method. The discovery of fragmentary molds for the production of figurines, molds of heads for metal appliques to vases, molds for the manufacture of relief vases and lumps of clay denote the existence of pottery and figurine workshops.

¹⁴ Keramopoulos 1935 linked the destruction of the city to the Roman civil war between Pompey and Caesar and dated it to 48

The sherds that form the subject of this study were found when cleaning the destruction layer of the later 2nd century B.C. along the south wall of area I of sector I of the northeast zone of the archaeological site.¹⁵

Reassembly of the fragments resulted in the restoration of the upper part of an open wide-mouthed vase, preserving a small section of the upper part of the body, part of the shoulder, the neck, and the rim, along with one of its handles. There are chips at the edges of the fragments and on the rim.¹⁶ Small parts of the body, the shoulder, and the neck were filled in to consolidate the fragments (Fig. 18.8). The vase's maximum preserved height is 0.129 m, its interior diameter 0.190 m, and its exterior rim diameter 0.210 m.¹⁷

The clay is fine-textured and hard, with few inclusions. Traces of non-plastic substances are very small and difficult to distinguish macroscopically. Among the inclusions are grains of pyrite and calcite, along with iron oxide, flakes of mica, and probably traces of chlorite. The edges are covered with sediment. The clay is homogeneous in color, light red (2.5 YR 6.5/6). The surface of the fragments is covered for the most part with a thin glaze whose color ranges from dark reddish-brown (5 YR 3/3) to light yellow (5 YR 7/6), while smaller areas of the glaze are thicker and have a very dark gray color (5 YR 3/1). In these areas, the glaze has flaked off considerably.

The preserved part of the vase allowed us to restore a hemispherical body whose height can be determined only approximately; both the shape and the dimensions of its base must also be approximated. The body ends in a narrow, sloping shoulder and belly, a flaring neck topped by a wide rim composed of a small modeled vertical band and a lateral pendant molding. Below the rim, on the narrow surface of the shoulder, a single loop-shaped handle is formed of continuous twisted cylinders of clay, the ends of which have been flattened and smoothed out, as has the central section of the loop, using a tool the better to attach them to the walls of the vase.

A flat unadorned surface below the shoulder tops a band adorned with a composite guilloche that is bordered on both sides by raised lines. Below this, two grooves of unequal breadth define the lower part of the main relief zone, which must have covered a large part of the body of the vase.¹⁸

A small, ill-defined groove on the unadorned flat band of the upper part of the body divides this surface into zones 0.130 m wide at the top and 0.050 m at the bottom, and marks the dividing line between the part of the vase potted on a wheel and the molded lower part. This division is also confirmed by the wheel marks on the interior surface of the vase discernible only along the dividing line.¹⁹ The composite technique, using a



Figure 18.8. Fragmentary krater, inv. no. 2005.62, after restoration. Photo I. M. Akamatis.

B.C. At the same time, he mistakenly identified the settlement with Heraclea Lyncestis: Keramopoulos 1934, pp. 49–50; 1935, pp. 60–67. See also note 2 above.

¹⁵ For sectors I–II, see Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 1993, p. 67, fig. 1.

¹⁶ L. Gellou was the archaeologist responsible for the excavations in the sector where the vase was found, V. Prappas oversaw the plans, and Ch. Serpezoudi restored the vase. Colleagues from the excavations at Pella also provided considerable assistance; my sincere thanks to all involved.

¹⁷ Max. preserved body height 0.068 m, preserved shoulder height 0.007 m, height of neck and rim 0.054 m, preserved height of the narrative scene 0.026 m, width of guilloche zone 0.016 m, maximum aperture of the handles 0.049 m, thickness of cylindrical handle: left upward curving section 0.013 m, right section 0.010 m, diameter of left section of backward-curving handle 0.022 m, right section 0.024 m.

¹⁸ It is very likely that a different zone with decorative plant motifs adorned the lower part of the vase, while the bowl and the medallion were plain or had a different decorative scheme. The former possibility is usual for vases of great depth that had a base, as found in molds from Pella; see Akamatis 1993, pp. 129–130, no. 308; pp. 131–132, no. 311, and pp. 135–136, no. 316. But there are also amphoras and kraters with decorative medallions that are covered by the attached base, such as the amphora from Pella, inv. no. 80.455 (Akamatis 1993, pp. 225, 227, 230, 239 with nn. 247–248, 278, 340) and the krater from Florina, inv. no. 5440 (see note 35 below).

¹⁹ The upper part of the vase, together with the shoulder, the neck, and the rim, was made by applying clay after the mold was fastened to a wheel but before the vase was removed from the mold. The handles and the now-missing base were attached afterward.

mold and the potter's wheel at the same time to produce various vessels, is corroborated by a host of examples from the region of Macedonia as well as from the wider Greek world.²⁰

The approximate height of the narrative depiction can be estimated by restoring the height of the preserved fragmentary figures. Visible are traces of a helmet and the arm of a figure with a weapon in his right hand, and the greater part of a crest with part of the helmet of a second figure with the end of an arm that also brandishes a weapon. Extensive measurements of the arms of figures from molds and mold-made relief vases from Pella showing standing warriors with weapons in their raised hands give us a proportion of arm length to height of 1:4 or 1:4.5. Applying such a proportion to the preserved parts of the two figures results in an estimated restored height of 0.055 to 0.060 m. About another 0.005 m should be added to this height to account for the inscribed area. It follows that the total height of the narrative zone would have been about 0.060–0.065 m or a bit larger.

The contour of the preserved molded part of the body of the vessel indicates that the bowl of the mold was hemispherical not conical.²¹ Its body would have been similar to the kraters of the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 1st century B.C. from Pella,²² Vergina,²³ Petres,²⁴ Florina,²⁵ Eratyra,²⁶ Sianitsi of Tsotyli,²⁷ Platania (Bouboutsis),²⁸ Polymylos²⁹ and other areas in the prefecture of Kozani,³⁰ Vardarski Rid in FYROM,³¹ and in some Greek sites (Figs 18.9–18.13);³² their bodies are sometimes very deep and cylindrical, with a plain band extended above the narrative zone, as is the case with the kraters from Pella, Vergina, Petres,³³

²⁰ For the technique of manufacturing moldmade vases, see Akamatis 1993, pp. 158–159. See *Agora* XXII, pp. 4–5 and n. 13; Rotroff 2000; Drougou 2000.

²¹ Relief vases of conical shape are limited in number. Among the molds at Pella with this shape are inv. no. 80.171 and 80.168: Akamatis 1993, p. 57, nos. 87–88, pls 89–90. The handleless krater no. 98.598 was made by the composite manufacturing technique; it bears a plant decoration of spear-shaped leaves surrounding spiral stems that end in closed rosettes, cf. the fragmentary mold no. 88 (Akamatis 1993, p. 57). The number of comparable conical vases from Pella is also limited, but among them is a lagynos of composite manufacture. A small number of similar vases come from other locations; a fragmentary amphora or krater was in fact found in the Hellenistic city at Florina: Keramopoulos 1934, p. 68, fig. 30.

²² Two intact deep handleless kraters were found in the destruction layer of the agora of Pella. One of them (inv. no. 95.42) had plant decoration: Akamatis 1998, pp. 97 and 104, fig. 7. The other (inv. no. 93.864) was adorned with erotic scenes: Akamatis 1995, p. 236, fig. 2; Akamatis 1997, pp. 188 and 193, fig. 13.

²³ The krater was found in a destruction layer with many other Hellenistic vases and ceramic objects: Drougou 1993, pp. 10 and 19, fig. 13; see also Drougou 1997, pp. 49 and 54, fig. 8. The majority of coins in the destruction layer belong to autonomous mints such as the bronze issue of Macedonia Prima (167–150 B.C.), which led the excavator to an initial dating of the layer “toward the end of the first half of the 2nd century B.C.” (Drougou 1993, p. 11). This information, however, does not exclude the possibility of a relatively lower chronology.

²⁴ Adam-Veleni 1990 has a short presentation of the workshop along with the publication of fragmentary molds and a seal with a depiction of Ajax and Cassandra. Adam-Veleni 1997, p. 142 fig. 114b, has a picture of the Petres krater without its base, before it was fully restored; see also Adam-Veleni 1998a, p. 60, fig. 46 and the cover image.

²⁵ The Florina krater (inv. no. 5440) has been more widely known as a skyphos: see note 35 below.

²⁶ Keramopoulos 1934, p. 124, no. 33, fig. 79.1 (a deep skyphos with plant decoration); Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993, p. 73, fig. 42 (left side).

²⁷ The Sianitsi vase is a small krater (krateriskos) with plant decoration composed of leaves and acorns: Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993, p. 75, fig. 42 (top center).

²⁸ The Platania vase is a krateriskos decorated with human figures, heads, and skeletons: Keramopoulos 1939, p. 54; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993, p. 75, fig. 42 (upper right).

²⁹ The Polymylos krater came from grave 4, whose terminus post quem is supplied by bronze coins of the Koinon of the Macedonians (187–168 B.C.): Vitali 2004, pp. 222–225, pl. 77a. The narrative zone on this vase shows scenes from the Return of Odysseus; 11 out of its 13 figures are identified by inscriptions. Odysseus is depicted four times and Eurycleia twice, with Penelope, Eumaeus, Telemachus, Melanthius, and a cowherd depicted once each. Relief vases were frequently used as grave goods in the cemetery of Polymylos and in other cemeteries of Upper Macedonia, in contrast to the grave assemblages of Lower Macedonia. This krater is also mentioned in Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Vitali 2001, p. 386; illustrated reference: *AR* 2006, pp. 49–50, fig. 64.

³⁰ Archaeological excavations on Odos Akropolitou in the city of Kozani produced fragments of a vase with plant decoration that must belong to an amphora or krater: Petsas 1966, pl. 41b; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993, p. 23, fig. 7, and p. 75, fig. 42 (lower right).

³¹ Two kraters were reassembled from a quantity of sherds. The site of Vardarski Rid is located in a gorge of the Axios (Vardar) River near the city of Gevgelija: see Mitrevski 2005a and notes 37 and 39 below.

³² Two fragmentary kraters with narrative scenes were found at Eretria: Schmid 2004, pp. 495–504, nos. 5–6, pls 237–238. The neck and the shape of the rim, particularly in no. 6, are the same as those of the Florina krater. The kraters from the Athenian Agora differ in details of form: *Agora* XXIX, p. 139, nos. 601–608, fig. 44 and pls 57–58.

³³ Also from Petres comes a second fragmentary krater in the composite technique. Only the vase's upper part is preserved, with a frieze of vines crowning the main decorative zone, while the elevated cylindrical body, which was made on a wheel, has a flaring



Figure 18.9. Vergina, the Sanctuary of the Mother of Gods: moldmade krater. After Drougou 1997, fig. 8.



Figure 18.10. Kozani, moldmade krater, inv. no. ακ. 178, from Eratyra. Photo I. M. Akamatis.



Figure 18.11. Kozani, moldmade krater, inv. no. 187, from Sianisti Tsotyliou. Photo G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi.



Figure 18.12. Kozani, moldmade krater, inv. no. 185, from Platania. Photo G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi.



Figure 18.13. Kozani, moldmade krater, inv. no. 2801, from Polymylos. Photo G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi.

Polymylos,³⁴ and the two kraters from Vardarski Rid. The tapering body of the new Florina krater produces a profile analogous to that of the vase inv. no. 5440 from Florina, whose main narrative zone has scenes from the sack of Troy and which has repeatedly been published as a skyphos (Fig. 18.14).³⁵ Examination of the surface of the vase's medallion, however, confirms the presence of a sufficient residue of the clay that

rim: Adam-Veleni 1998b, p. 57, figs 8 and 58.

³⁴ See note 29 above. The krater is illustrated in Karamitrou-Mentessidi n.d.

³⁵ Bakalakis 1934, p. 75; Petsas 1969, p. 203, no. 193, pl. 109 (foldout); Hausmann 1975, p. 228 n. 2 (reference only); Sinn 1979, pp. 98–100 (MB 34), pls 3.2 and 10.1–6; Gropengiesser 1980, pp. 313 n. 18a; 321–322 n. 75; 325 n. 107a; 326 n. 109; Sakellariou 1982, p. 171, fig. 109; Akamatis 1993, p. 225 and n. 159; pp. 227, 230, 234, 239 n. 247, 240 n. 248, 272, 278, 339, 341. See also Akamatis 1998, pp. 98–99, fig. 3 (first reference to the vase as a krater); Akamatis and Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996, p. 31; Akamati-Lilimbaki and Akamatis 2006, p. 34 (3 pictures).

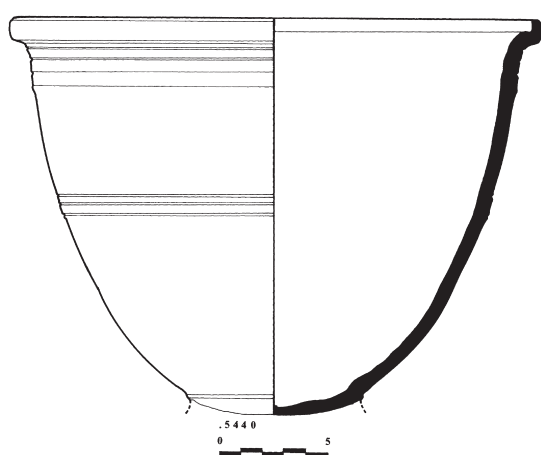


Figure 18.14 (*above*). Florina. Hellenistic city: moldmade krater, inv. no. 5440. Drawing V. Prappas.

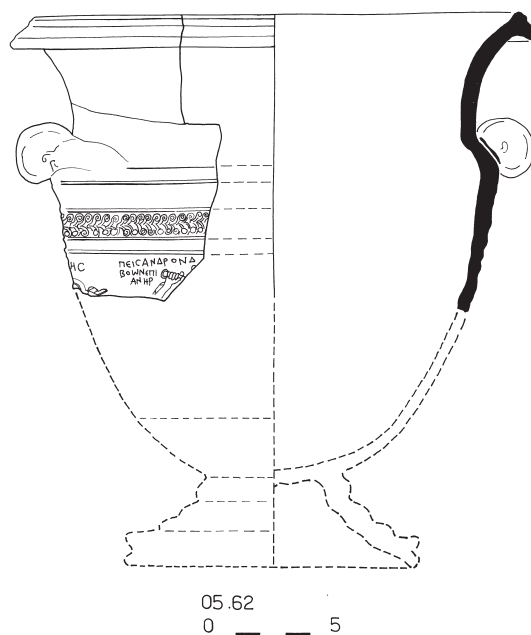


Figure 18.15 (*right*). Restored view of the krater, Florina, inv. no. 2005.62. Drawing V. Prappas.

was used to attach the base, which has since fallen off.³⁶ Consequently, we are dealing not with a skyphos, but with a handleless krater, of which we have two examples from Pella, two from Petres, one each from Florina, Eratryra, Polymylos, Sianitsi Tsotyliou, Platania, and the two from Vardarski Rid.³⁷ The restoration of the new fragmentary krater from Florina should thus resemble the krater (inv. no. 5440) found in the earlier excavations (Fig. 18.14).³⁸ It is very likely that, below the main decorative zone, the new krater had a second decorative zone similar to other kraters from Macedonia decorated with plant motifs, to be precise, spear-shaped leaves with buds and tendrils, plain leaves or long petals, the exact height of which is impossible to restore with certainty (Fig. 18.15).

The neck and the shape of the rim of the new krater from Florina are comparable to kraters from Pella, one of the kraters from Petres, the vases from Vardarski Rid, and the krater from Vergina. The last-mentioned krater, along with the krater from the House of the Shrine (“House with a sacramental place”) at Vardarski Rid offer parallels for the new krater’s loop-shaped handles.³⁹ The lowest part of this vase, as is the case with the majority of examples from Macedonia, would have had a turned foot, the exact shape of which we cannot now establish.

The guilloche was impressed using a cylindrical stamp (roller) within a narrow zone defined by grooves made by the mold. It is formed by two bands that intertwine in the center to form a fan-shaped pattern 0.007 m wide, not counting the two lines that border it. The two sides of the fan are comprised of bands in the shape of a final sigma above and a semicircle below, which at their ends enclose an eyelet. The two curving bands that comprise the guilloche have a hollow tendon at their ends (Fig. 18.16). The design is distinguished by a small hollow around the center and the beginning of its upper side. This shape must also have been impressed negatively into the roller with which the zone was decorated. An idiosyncrasy of the artisan who made the

³⁶ See Akamatis 1998, pp. 98–99, fig. 3.

³⁷ The krater found in the “House of the Collector” is handleless: Mitrevski 2005c, p. 244, figs 30a–b. The coins from this house belong to Philip V and Perseus and to autonomous issues of Macedonian cities, while the latest numismatic evidence is from a coin of the fourth region of Macedonia of 148–146 constituting the *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the building: “The latest coin is dated somewhere around 148 B.C. which is a *terminus ante quem* (sic) for the collapsing of the House of the Collector,” Mitrevski 2005c, p. 247.

³⁸ The shape of the rim, which has an upturned beveled termination like that found on the majority of the skyphoi from Pella, and Macedonia more generally, should not come as a surprise, since it is also used on kraters from Pella, Eratryra, and other locations.

³⁹ The krater from the House of the Shrine (also called “Sanctuary House” by the excavators) seems to have had loop-shaped handles: Mitrevski 2005b, p. 79, fig. 78b. It was found in a destruction layer and dated on the basis of numismatic evidence to the 1st century B.C.: Mitrevski 2005b, p. 86. The end of the settlement: Jovanov 2005, pp. 315–321.



Figure 18.16 (above). Detail of fragmentary krater, Florina, inv. no. 2005.62. Photo I. M. Akamatis.

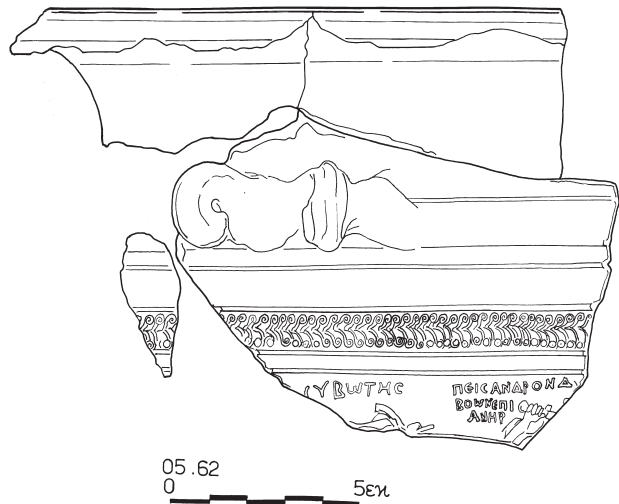


Figure 18.17 (right). Fragments of the krater, Florina, inv. no. 2005.62. Drawing V. Prappas.

roller is the elliptical, sometimes angular semicircle that gives shape to the lower part of the guilloche. The type with two hooks enclosing a curved terminal eye with central tendon appears on two stamps used in molds from Pella;⁴⁰ however, these have two fans of identical shape, in contrast to the decoration on the Florina krater. The details of this motif are paralleled in the guilloche crowning the narrative frieze on the krater from Polymylos, which betrays a common origin.

The restoration of the narrative scene on this vase is possible to a significant degree using the meager remains of the two figures and principally the fragmentary inscriptions. The piece that preserves part of the protective armor, with a crest turned left, permits the restoration of a figure turning right. The same conclusion can be drawn from the hand raised above the figure's shoulder; this hand grasps a long, narrow object, evidently a spear. On the right, a second figure moves in the opposite direction with raised arm, brandishing a weapon; the weapon's hemispherical end suggests a spear butt or the pommel of a sword.⁴¹

Above the first figure is inscribed the word ΣΥΒΩΤΗΣ, while above and behind the raised arm of the second, three lines of a fragmentary inscription are preserved: ΠΕΙΣΑΝΔΡΟΝΔ[- -/ΒΟΩΝΕΠΙ[- -/ΑΝΗΡ. The single word identifies the first figure as a swineherd, whereas the inscribed phrase names the second figure as Peisander. The swineherd's opponent would have been Elatos, whose name would have been inscribed above him, while the opponent of Peisander was the ἐπι[βουκόλος] ἀνὴρ, Odysseus' cowherd, as filling out the fragmentary text confirms beyond any doubt: [Ἐλατον δὲ] συβώτης, on the left, and on the right, Πείσανδρον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε / βοῶν ἐπι[βουκόλος] ἀνὴρ (Fig. 18.17). This text has been copied word-for-word from Book 22 of the *Odyssey*, lines 267–268. It is evident that the narrative frieze of the new krater from Florina depicted the massacre of the suitors, with snatches of the Homeric narrative inscribed to correspond with the figures of the combatants. The killing of the suitors Demoptolemus and Euryades by Odysseus and Telemachus must have rounded out the picture:

..... οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκόντισαν ὀξέα δοῦρα
 ἅντα τιτυσκόμενοι· Δημοπτόλεμον μὲν Ὀδυσσεύς,
 Εὐρυάδην δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος, Ἐλατον δὲ συβώτης,
 Πείσανδρον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνὴρ.⁴²

“..... and they all hurled their sharp spears with sure aim. Odysseus smote Demoptolemus, Telemachus Euryades, the swineherd Elatus, and the herdsman of the cattle slew Peisander.”⁴³

⁴⁰ Inv. nos. K 99 and K 100: Akamatis 1993, p. 189, pl. 276.

⁴¹ On Homeric vases showing warriors with spears, the butts are often represented as well: Akamatis 1993, p. 123, no. 299, pls 9, 16, and pp. 207–208; p. 124, no. 300, pls 210–211; Sinn 1979, p. 78 (MB 7), pl. 3.2; Gropengiesser 1980, p. 311, fig. 2. A few warriors can be depicted holding their spears by the end; cf. Sinn 1979, pp. 115–116 (MB 60), pl. 25.1 (Creon).

⁴² *Od.* 22.265–268.

⁴³ This and the subsequent passages of Homer in English are taken from A. T. Murray's Loeb translation (2nd ed., rev. G.E. Dimock, Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

These figures are in the center of action, and in consequence were most likely depicted striding, arranged in a series of heroic confrontations. The total space taken up by each of these figures must have reached ca. 0.050 m. The vase's exterior diameter at the height of the narrative frieze is 0.160 m, and accordingly the circumference of the circle created by this zone was up to 0.5024 m.⁴⁴ It follows that the area of the narrative frieze was large enough to permit the eight figures to be arranged with ease. The remaining space could have been covered by two additional figures or with iconographic elements of equivalent size.

The narrative frieze should certainly be restored to contain a total of four pairs of fighters. The opponent of Peisander, on the basis of the remains of the inscription, was located to the right of the preserved portion of the krater.⁴⁵ Restoring the inscription, we assume that there was a verb above his helmet – ἔπεφνε – and below it the noun βουκόλος. Thus was the action displayed and the active warrior identified. In front of the swineherd's opponent was the pair Telemachus and Euryades, while the first pair would have represented Demoptolemus and Odysseus. That this restoration would follow the sequence of references in the Homeric narrative is confirmed by the placement of the four antagonists on the preserved part of the krater.

The total area occupied by the four opposing pairs would have been as much as ca. 0.40 m, so there would have been enough room left – approximately 0.10 m – for the addition of two figures or another scene of this size. Athena played a decisive role in the positive outcome of the episode for Odysseus and his comrades. In the first place, taking the form of Mentor, she reinforced the morale of the hero under her protection and that of his comrades (*Od.* 22.205–235). Next, she tested the courage and determination of Odysseus and his son (*Od.* 22.236–238), observing the action with protective intent from the roof of the palace in the form of a swallow (*Od.* 22.239–240). At the height of the conflict she intervenes, twice deflecting the spears thrown by the suitors, who not only far outnumbered their foes but also had superiority in arms. She thus makes it possible for Odysseus and his comrades to launch their lethal attack (*Od.* 22.255–256):

ᾧς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκόντισαν, ὥς ἐκέλευεν
 ἱέμενοι· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐτώσια θῆκεν Ἀθήνη.

“So he spoke, and they all hurled their spears, as he proposed, eagerly; but Athene made it all vain.”

The intervention of Athena was decisive for the outcome of the struggle.⁴⁶ During the fight she directs the shots of the suitors this way and that (*Od.* 22.257–259):

τῶν ἄλλος μὲν σταθμὸν ἐυσταθέος μεγάροιο,
 βεβλήκει, ἄλλος δὲ θύρην πυκινῶς ἀραρυῖαν ·
 ἄλλου δ' ἐν τοίχῳ μελίη πέσε χαλκοβάρεια.

“One man hit the doorpost of the well-built hall, another the close-fitting door, another's ashen spear, heavy with bronze, struck upon the wall.”⁴⁷

She also does the same thing in the episode that immediately follows.⁴⁸ In addition, her active participation was quite probably expressed in her iconographic type. As a female figure equipped with a helmet and shield, right hand extended, striding toward the figures in action, as for example on the stamp M1 of the molds from Pella, she would have expressed her active intervention in the scene.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ According to the formula $C = \pi \cdot d$, in which C = circumference, $\pi = 3.1415$, and d = diameter.

⁴⁵ The location of Peisander is confirmed by the inscription and his pose is suggested by the raised right hand in a blind corner of the sherd. His action, in motion towards the viewer's right, is common in many warriors: see Sinn 1979, p. 77 (MB 5), pl. 5.2; p. 78 (MB 7), pl. 3.2; pp. 78–79 (MB 8); p. 94 (MB 27), and p. 97 (MB 31), pl. 6.2.

⁴⁶ By Odysseus' own admission, the interventions of the goddess Athena as a whole, and her counsel, made the hero's fate different from that which ultimately led Agamemnon son of Atreus to his death (*Od.* 13.383–385): “ὦ πόποι, ἣ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαιος / φθίσεσθαι κακὸν οἶτον ἐν μεγάροισιν ἔμελλον, / εἰ μὴ μοι σὺ ἕκαστα, θεά, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.” “In all truth I was about to have perished in my halls by the evil fate of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, had you not, goddess, duly told me all.”

⁴⁷ These remarks concerning the plan of the palace of Odysseus help to clarify the venue of the massacre: Lorimer 1950, p. 406, fig. 59; cf. Russo, Fernandez-Galiano, and Heubeck 2005, pp. 376–384, fig. 9.

⁴⁸ *Od.* 22. 272–275. At last, Athena finishes off the suitors; lifting her “man-withering aegis” (*Od.* 22.297: φθισίμβροτον αἰγὶδ' ἀνέσχεν) she addles their wits and sweeps them away to their final destruction (Maronitis 2005, pp. 243–244).

⁴⁹ The stamp M1 is impressed into the molds inv. no. 80.189 (cat. no. 301) and 81.96 (cat. no. 314): Akamatis 1993, pp. 190 and 242, pls 17, 214 and 278; pp. 134 and 281, pls 24 (left), 236b (right). The same Athena type is depicted behind Achilles in his contest with Hector on the Mannheim skyphos said to come from Amphipolis: see Sinn 1979, p. 80 (MB 10); detailed publication in Gropengiesser 1980, p. 311, fig. 2, and p. 331, pl. 63.6; see also *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 59, no. 24, s.v. Automedon (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). Athena

In addition, the palace of Odysseus in which the events are enacted is especially prominent in all the individual episodes that comprise the killing of the suitors. Not only is it referred to, it is also shown in many of its details in successive phases of the combat. Rooms are described, passageways mentioned, and colonnades and walls singled out as each plays its particular role in the unfolding of the narrative. Specifically, in the episode already described, the spears of the suitors strike a pilaster (column), a door, and a megaron wall. The depiction of the palace thus constitutes, in its own right, an essential element of the iconography of the scene. For this reason, we should expect it to acquire a symbolic meaning, with one of its elements serving to represent the all the public space occupied by the disorderly suitors. The topographical description of the area in which ὕβρις develops and τίσις comes upon the suitors, also becomes the place where the hero who judges men functions as an instrument of Nemesis, accomplishing the divine justice (θεοδικία) foretold at the epic's beginning in the words of the son of Cronus when he recollects the death of Aegisthus (*Od.* 1.32–34):

ὦ πόποι, οἷον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται.
ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κακ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

“It’s astonishing how ready mortals are to blame the gods. It is from us, they say, that evils come, but they even by themselves, through their own blind folly, have sorrows beyond that which was ordained.”

The need to show the palace could have been met by creating the impression of a monumental door, as on the lower zone of a fragmentary skyphos from Phthiotic Thebes with scenes of the palace of Odysseus,⁵⁰ as well as on the lagynos of Dionysius from “Anthedon” lost during the Second World War,⁵¹ a skyphos from Thessaloniki and a mold from Pella, all with scenes from the myth of Sisyphus that take place outside the palace of Autolycus.⁵² Moreover, since the closing of the gate plays a significant role in the confinement of the suitors, the depiction of a closed gate should be regarded as quite likely.⁵³ Such an element would also constitute a means of dividing up the narrative zone of the krater.⁵⁴ The impression of the gate would accordingly have been similar to the stamp used on the mold from Pella, the skyphos from Thessaloniki, and on the scene of the killing of the suitors on the skyphos from Phthiotic Thebes.

Thus, it becomes clear how the iconography of the main narrative scene of the krater from Florina impresses the episode of the massacre of the suitors in a specific way and in its inscriptions renders intact the corresponding list of casualties from the slaughter of the suitors in the *Odyssey*.

striding, armed, with her arm extended appears behind Odysseus in the massacre of the suitors on the skyphos, Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. no. 3161n, discussed in detail by Robert 1890, pp. 8–14. Cf. Touchefeu-Meunier 1968, pp. 259–260, no. 485; Sinn 1979, pp. 89–90 (MB 21), pl. 5.1; Brommer 1983, p. 106, fig. 51; Nasioula 2004, pp. 44–45, no. 32.

⁵⁰ Detailed bibliography in Nasioula 2004, pp. 40–41. This skyphos also includes a depiction of the suitors on a couch, identified by the inscription ΜΝΗΣΤΕΡΕΣ.

⁵¹ Robert 1890, pp. 90–96, fig. F; Courby 1922, p. 310, no. 36; von Salis 1937, pp. 161–167, pls 58–59.1–2; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1954, especially nn. 16, 33–34, 38, 43; Hausmann 1959, p. 56 (HB 33), pl. 44.1–2; Weitzmann 1959, pp. 68 and 81, fig. 75; Webster 1964, p. 148; Sinn 1979, p. 114 (MB 58), pls 3.1 and 24.1; *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 783, no. 3, s.v. Sisyphos (J. Oakley); Nasioula 2004, pp. 85–86; Nasioula 2006, p. 58.

⁵² To the now lost lagynos of Dionysius, hitherto the only known signed ceramic work with narrative scenes, can finally be added a skyphos from the agora of Thessaloniki with scenes from the *Iliad* signed by Dionysius, which has been restored with an additional two fragments from the same area: Adam-Veleni et al. 1997, p. 513 n. 64; Adam-Veleni et al. 2000, pp. 278–279; 286, no. 42, pl. 140a. It was assumed that the Dionysius who signed the vase from “Anthedon” and the three vases from Thessaloniki cannot be one and the same person (Nasioula 2006, pp. 57–60 n. 7), based on the signature’s location and the manner in which it was inscribed. This view, while not to be ruled out, should be treated with skepticism, since the signature is attributed to the “workshop head” and consequently could have been inscribed by different workers in the same workshop. The scarcity of signed works of this type renders the possibility of two homonymous “workshop heads” (the only individuals to sign vases with narrative scenes) an extraordinary coincidence. Moreover, the absence of the genitive Y (upsilon) on the lagynos is not certain, as can be inferred from the published drawing: Robert 1890, p. 93.

⁵³ The comprehensive representation of the outdoor area as well, even if it cannot be ruled out, seems to me less likely since I know of no such depiction on vases with narrative scenes that have a secure provenance in the region of Macedonia. The skyphos from Thessaloniki and the mold from Pella both have closed gates. Closed gates also appear on a skyphos in a private collection: Sinn 1979, p. 125 (MB 71), pl. 28. In addition, a fragment from Phthiotic Thebes in the Volos Museum has closed gates: Sinn 1979, pp. 125–126 (MB 72), pl. 29.1–3.

⁵⁴ The possibility of a complementary scene from the *Odyssey* being used to fill up the empty space around the edge of the narrative cannot be excluded. However, the deployment of the eight warriors would leave practically no empty space.



Figure 18.18. Pella (Tsangarli field): inscribed moldmade fragment depicting the massacre of the suitors. Photo I. M. Akamatis.



Figure 18.19. Palatiano. Inscribed moldmade fragment depicting the massacre of the suitors. Photo H. Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni.



Figure 18.20. Pella, Agora: inscribed mold fragment, inv. no 81.126, representing the massacre of the suitors. Photo I. M. Akamatis.

A section of the same list is repeated on a vase fragment found among the workshop refuse in the northwest part of the agora of Pella, in the finds that include molds and clay stamps to be used in the composition of moldmade narrative scenes (Fig. 18.18).⁵⁵ The fragmentary inscription Δημοπτόλ[εμον] / μὲν Ὀδυσσε[ύς] above a duel of epic type identifies the scene as the killing of Demoptolemus by Odysseus; the inscription of the particle μὲν on the surface of the vase was considered to indicate that the corresponding list was transferred intact from its model in the same manner as the one on the krater from Florina,⁵⁶ and with the rendering of the matched opponents of the narrative zone corresponding to the layout of an uninscribed skyphos from the Hellenistic city at Florina on which dueling heroes are portrayed.⁵⁷

The question of the word-for-word transcription of the same quotation on two vases from Pella and Florina is difficult to answer and acquires particular significance if we reflect that the other two Homeric vases known to me, which are located in the State Museums in Berlin with reported but uncertain provenances from Anthedon and Boeotia, cite quotations from the same book of the *Odyssey*. The confirmed popular interest in the “Massacre of the Suitors” episode during the later Hellenistic period may perhaps derive from a contemporary new edition of Book 22 of the *Odyssey*, which would account for the episode’s popularity in contrast to other themes.⁵⁸ This popularity is demonstrated also by the existence of other fragmentary vases on which the names of heroes or a one-word description in combination with iconographic details identify the scene. In this group are included sherds of a skyphos from Palatiano in the province of Kilikis, on which the inscription ΜΝΗΣΤΗΡΟΦΟΝΙΑ above a pair of combatants identifies the scene (Fig. 18.19).⁵⁹ On another fragmentary vase from Thessaloniki, Telemachus, followed by Odysseus, still clad in rags, rushes at the reclining suitors with his sword drawn; among the latter, the head of Amphinomus can be distinguished.⁶⁰ There is a strong probability that the same suitor was also depicted on a fragment of a mold from Pella and

⁵⁵ For the destruction layer of the workshop (Tsangarli field), dated by the excavator to the later 2nd century B.C., see Lilimbaki-Akamati 1997, p. 172; Akamatis 1998, p. 359. Facilities for the processing of workshop materials were excavated, in addition to six kilns, of which one was rectangular, another pear-shaped, and the remaining four circular. The finds include lumps of clay, molds for the fabrication of relief vases, molds for figurines, and deposits of wasters and other manufacturing refuse.

⁵⁶ Inv. no. 1993.266. For the vase fragment, see Akamatis 1996.

⁵⁷ Skyphos, Florina Museum inv. no. 82.148: Akamati-Lilimpaki and Vojatzki 1989, pl. 202a (detail); Akamatis 1996, p. 6, figs 2–3. See also Akamatis and Lilimbaki-Akamati 1996, p. 31 (foldout); Akamati-Lilimpaki and Akamatis 2006, p. 35 (foldout and details). A series of unpublished fragmentary moldmade skyphoi from Pella follow the same format.

⁵⁸ In the Hellenistic period, Homer remained the master model for poetry: Rengakos 1993. Among his works, however, the popularity of Books 22–24 remained high throughout antiquity, manifest in the disproportionate number of passages from them on papyrus in comparison to any other part of the *Odyssey*: Dawe 1993, p. 779.

⁵⁹ Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1998, p. 266, fig. 6 (left).

⁶⁰ The ending of the name -MON above the reclining suitor suggests that it depicted [ΑΜΦΙΝΟ]ΜΟΝ: see Akamatis 1993, p. 302, no. 330. The vase: Hausmann 1975, p. 228 n. 2, no. i (a simple mention); Sinn 1979, p. 88 (MB 20), pl. 8.4; Nasioula 2006, pp. 61–62, fig. 6.

is identified by the inscription ANΦINOMON,⁶¹ while on two or likely three fragments from the acropolis of Agios Eleutherios in Kozani, the names of Odysseus' shepherds are inscribed.⁶² Interest in the theme of the murder of the suitors even extends beyond the *Odyssey*, as shown by a fragmentary mold from Pella with part of a scene with a fighting Artemis inscribed MNHΣTHPOΦONIA; it very likely illustrates the killing of the Aloadae by Artemis (Fig. 18.20).⁶³ In addition, the Polymylos krater has a series of scenes inspired by the *Odyssey* in which appear the figure of Odysseus on Ithaca with Eurycleia, Penelope, Telemachus, Eumaeus, Melanthius, and a cowherd.⁶⁴

It is commonly thought that the scenes on Homeric vases reflect illustrated manuscripts of the period containing poems from the Homeric cycle and Greek drama which the Macedonians were familiar with.⁶⁵ The stories inspired by these literary texts were firmly planted in the minds of the public who bought these cheap, widely used clay vases, a fact furthermore confirmed by the absence of labels in many scenes whose subjects would have been recognized immediately by the vases' users.⁶⁶

The particular emphasis on subjects inspired by the Homeric epics, among which Odysseus, the hero of the massacre of the suitors, occupies a prominent position, is no doubt attested within a rather specific social and political context of this period, at least in the territory of Macedonia.

For the local population, Odysseus assumed the role of the absolute hero who manages to survive all adversities of life. He has attained the rank of hero thanks to his sharp intellect, while also possessing a warrior's bravery. His attainment of immortal glory is based on the necessity of survival in a post(-Trojan) war world and does not depend on heroization through an early death in battle.⁶⁷ By the admission of Athena herself, it was by his counsel that Priam's fortress was captured.⁶⁸ The hero's supreme goal is the return home (νόστος), which is brought to fulfillment by the punishment (τίσις) of the shameless suitors, symbols of collective and individual moral degradation. The fulfillment of his goal confers the fame (κλέος) of heroic society on Odysseus, and the hero of cunning (μητις), shrewdness (μηχανή), and ingenuity (πολυκέρδεια) becomes the archetype of the figure who brings the heroic fight against insuperable adversities to a successful end.⁶⁹

In the eyes of Macedonian society, the new masters of the region – the Romans – were regarded as insolent suitors, “for they are in no way either prudent or just,”⁷⁰ who would pay the consequences of their blind arrogance (ὕβρις) since, like the suitors of the *Odyssey*, they “devour the livelihood of another without atonement.”⁷¹ Suited to these men is the very serious accusation that Odysseus hurls at the suitors, who devour an eminent man's livelihood without fearing the gods.⁷² Such an approach is readily detected by examining

⁶¹ Akamatis 1993, pp. 142 and 302, inv. no. 81.133.

⁶² Petsas 1967, pp. 34–45, pl. 41γ–δ.

⁶³ This mold fragment depicts the figure of Artemis in action: Akamatis 1993, pp. 130–131 and 267–269, inv. no. 81.126.

⁶⁴ For the Polymylos krater, see notes 29 and 34 above.

⁶⁵ Weitzmann 1959, p. 114: “whenever we have met Hellenistic relief bowls with scenic representations they have turned out to be reflections of illustrated books.” See also Weitzmann 1970, pp. 3–6 (detailed remarks on previous scholarship); pp. 17–46 (the “cyclic method” as an invention of the Hellenistic period). The reproduction of entire verses of the *Odyssey* on skyphoi, for example the one in Berlin (inv. no. 3121n), for which see note 49 above, entails the use of illustrated manuscripts by the potters of Homeric skyphoi, and the relation of text to image is taken for granted: Weitzmann 1971, pp. 68–69, with figs 45–46 (including the reconstruction of an illustrated rotulus (scroll) of the *Odyssey* of the 3rd century B.C.), and p. 120. See also Weitzmann 1959, p. 35, fig. A (reconstruction of a scroll of the *Iliad*), and p. 67, fig. B (reconstruction of a scroll with Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*); Akamatis 1996, p. 6. The classic handbook is still Birt 1907, which has a chapter dealing specifically with book illumination (pp. 269–315). For scrolls on the monuments of Macedonia, see Voutiras 1989. Cf. Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 1997, pp. 71–76, nos. 54–56. Webster (1964, p. 148) did not regard the use of illustrated texts as indispensable models for Homeric vases, but believed that the artisans themselves were scholars or were advised by scholars.

⁶⁶ There are a great many fragmentary uninscribed Homeric vases from all sites in Macedonia, most of them still unpublished. The sample of uninscribed molds from Pella is indicative as well: see Akamatis 1993, pp. 120–121 and pp. 225–238, no. 297; pp. 124–125 and 241–243, no. 301; pp. 129–130 and 261–262, no. 308; pp. 130 and 264–267, no. 309; pp. 131–135 and 269–284, nos. 311–315; p. 136, no. 317; p. 137, nos. 318–319; pp. 138 and 291–292, no. 321.

⁶⁷ Schein 1995, pp. 90–91.

⁶⁸ *Od.* 22.230: σὴ δ' ἦλω βουλῇ Πριάμου πόλιν εὐρύαγυια – “and by your counsel the broad-wayed city of Priam was taken.”

⁶⁹ Segal 1996, pp. 219–220. Cf. Manakidou 2002, pp. 33–34 and 166–167.

⁷⁰ *Od.* 2.282: οὐ τι νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι.

⁷¹ *Od.* 18.280: ἀλλότριον βίοντον νήποινον ἔδουσιν.

⁷² *Od.* 24.458–460: Οἳ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξαν ἀτασθαλίῃσι κακῇσιν, / κτήματα κείροντες καὶ ἀτιμάζοντες ἄκοιτιν / ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος. (“They who committed a monstrous act in their blind and wanton wickedness, wasting the wealth and dishonoring the wife of a prince.”). Still more serious are the accusations that the hero levels at the suitors earlier on, at *Od.* 22.35–41:

the popularity of some other subjects on the Homeric vases of Macedonia. A typical example is the sack of Troy (Ἰλίου Πέρσις), in which punishment (τίσις) comes from Odysseus, the sacker of cities (ποτόλιπορθος), and is made almost immediately evident by the destruction of Troy, which was the ancestral cradle of the newly-built Roman state.⁷³ The mass production of vessels with scenes of the sack of Troy constitutes an ideological counterweight, a different approach to the Trojan War than that promoted by the new power, whose crowning accomplishment was the national epic of the Roman world, the *Aeneid*.⁷⁴ Through the prism of the juxtaposition of these two worlds, it becomes possible to interpret the defeat of the Romans' national hero by Achilles more constructively, with Aeneas finally being saved only by the intervention of Poseidon, as is depicted on a fragmentary uninscribed mold from the destruction layer of the agora of Pella,⁷⁵ as well as on two inscribed skyphoi now in Berlin⁷⁶ and Athens.⁷⁷

Finally, this reactionary ceramic production is not far removed from reality, since the overwhelming majority of securely identified scenes on Homeric vases from Macedonia show themes related to the sack of Troy, the massacre of the suitors, and sometimes also the contest of Achilles and Aeneas. These vases seem for the most part to be datable to the years after the Roman occupation,⁷⁸ with emphasis on the periods before and after the unsuccessful attempts of the Macedonians to restore their traditional system of government, which were manifested by recorded uprisings that culminated in the brief triumph of the revolt led by Andriscus in 149/8.⁷⁹

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ὦ κύνες, οὐ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι / δήμου ἀπὸ Τρώων, ὅτι μοι κατεκείρετε οἶκον, / δμῳῆσιν τε γυναῖξιν παρευνάξεσθαι βιαίως, / αὐτοῦ τε ζῶοντος ὑπεμνάσθε γυναῖκα, / οὔτε θεοὺς δέισαντες, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν, / οὔτε τιν' ἀνθρώπων νέμεσιν κατόπισθεν ἔσεσθαι: / νῦν ὑμῖν καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφήπται. ("You dogs, you thought that I should never again come home from the land of the Trojans, seeing that you wasted my house, and lay with the maidservants by force, and while I was still alive covertly courted my wife, having no fear of the gods, who hold broad heaven, or that any indignation of men would follow. Now over you one and all have the cords of destruction been made fast.")

⁷³ Πτολίπορθος is used for mortal men in the *Odyssey* only to characterize Odysseus (eight times); among the heroes in the Greek camp who are his contemporaries, he shares this characterization only with Achilles: Clay 1983, pp. 101–102 and n. 95.

⁷⁴ The abandonment of the myth of the joint foundation of Rome by Odysseus and Aeneas, which was popular during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. in Etruria and at Rome, and the insistence that Aeneas alone was responsible is confirmed from the 5th century B.C. onward, initially "not so much against the Greeks but against Etruscans, who had accepted Odysseus and Aeneas as a *pair*," Malkin 1998, p. 209. With its gradually increasing preference for Aeneas to the detriment of Odysseus, Rome found itself at odds with the Greek world, so that "by the first century if not earlier, Rome saw itself as the avenger of the Trojan Aeneas," while the Trojans were identified as a barbarian element distinct from the Greeks: Thomas and Conant 2005, pp. 73 and 77.

⁷⁵ Akamatis 1993, pp. 131–132 and 269–272 (no. 311), pls 11, 22, 230–231. For the dating of the destruction layer of the agora of Pella to around the end of the first decade of the 1st century B.C., see Akamatis 1993, pp. 314–323, and 2005.

⁷⁶ Sinn 1979, p. 78 (MB 7), pl. 3.2, provenance "aus Griechenland," *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 129, no. 542, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), and p. 386, no. 52, s.v. Aineias (F. Canciani).

⁷⁷ Sinn 1979, pp. 79–80 (MB 8), pl. 3.3, "aus Boötien," *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 129, no. 542, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), and p. 385, no. 51, s.v. Aineias (F. Canciani).

⁷⁸ The chronology of this type of skyphos during the 2nd century B.C.: Hausmann 1959, pp. 45–51; Webster 1964, p. 147. See also Hausmann 1975, pp. 227–228, and Hausmann 1996, pp. 104–107.

⁷⁹ Constant disturbances and social struggles followed the withdrawal of the Roman armies from Macedonia which were due to the Macedonians' very deep and lively patriotic sentiments and not only to the difficulty of adapting to the democratic and council-based constitution referred to by Polybius (31.2.12): συνέβαινε γὰρ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀήθεις ὄντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας στασιάζειν, but also chiefly to anti-Roman feeling: Derow 1989, p. 318. The Macedonian populace retained positive sentiments about their traditional system of government, Lazarou 1974; as Mackay (2004, p. 87) put it, "The peasantry appear to have retained a genuine fondness for the monarchy." Scholars of this period – e.g., Gruen 1984, pp. 432–433, and Green 1990, pp. 447–448 – regard the desire of the Macedonians to wage war for the restoration of kingship as so striking that it excited the admiration of Polybius (36.17.14): συναγωνιζόμενοι καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἀνδραγαθήσαντες ἐνίκησαν Ῥωμαίους. The Roman province of Macedonia: Papazoglou 1979. For the revolt of Andriscus specifically and its suppression in 148 B.C., see Niese 1903, pp. 335–338; Morgan 1969; Papazoglou 1979, pp. 302–308. Cf. Derow 1989, pp. 321–322.

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